EDUCATION—DEMOCRACY'S TEST

ıc October 6, 1955 25¢

THE REPORTER

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A White House Conference ...just for them!

These two youngsters represent America's enormous postwar generation—the generation that is caught in the most serious educational crisis in our history. For never before have our schools been so overcrowded and understaffed.

Because this is a nation-wide problem, President Eisenhower has called for educational conferences in every state. These meetings will report their findings to The White House Conference on Education, to be held in Washington, November 28 to December 1, 1955.

A 33-member Presidential Committee, representing all areas of American life, is already at work, planning for the November White House Conference.

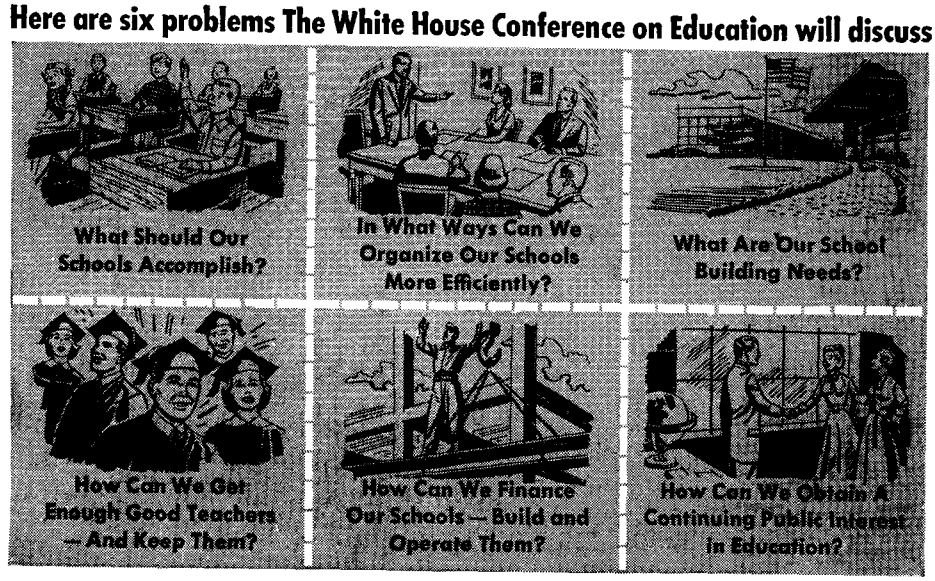
It is hoped that through this conference, bold and effective solutions will be found to meet the problem of maintaining the kind of public schools America needs—for its strength, its prosperity, and perhaps for its survival.

You can help plan a conference for your community to study and discuss your local school problems. For *free* folder and information, write Better Schools, 2 West 45th Street, New York 36, N. Y.

PUBLIC SERVICE ADVERTISING COUNCIL

If you are interested in further information on State Conferences or The White House Conference, write:

Here are six problems The White House Conference on Education will discuss


What Should Our Schools Accomplish?
In What Ways Can We Organize Our Schools More Efficiently?
What Are Our School Building Needs?
How Can We Get Enough Good Teachers — And Keep Them?
How Can We Finance Our Schools — Build and Operate Them?
How Can We Obtain A Continuing Public Interest In Education?

COMMITTEE FOR THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION

Health, Education, and Welfare Building South, Washington 25, D. C.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, *Honorary Chairman,* MRS. OVETA CULP HOBBY, DR. S. M. BROWNELL, *Honorary Vice-Chairmen*
NEIL H. MCELROY, *Chairman,* FINIS E. ENGLEMAN, *Vice-Chairman*

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Striking Way to Test Your Understanding of Music

Choose any one of these Music-Appreciation Records

It will be sent to you WITHOUT CHARGE

Richard Strauss' **TILL EULENSPIEGEL'S MERRY PRANKS**
Smetana's **THE MOLDAU**
(On One 12″ Disc)
George Szell, *conducting*
Music Appreciation Symphony Orchestra

Prokofiev's **CLASSICAL SYMPHONY**
Britten's **THE YOUNG PERSON'S GUIDE TO THE ORCHESTRA**
(On One 12″ Disc)
Alfred Wallenstein, *conducting*
Music Appreciation Symphony Orchestra

Wagner's **OVERTURES TO TANNHÄUSER and DIE MEISTERSINGER**
(On One 12″ Disc)
Norman Del Mar, *conducting*
London Symphony Orchestra

Schumann's **PIANO CONCERTO IN A MINOR**
EILEEN FLISSLER, PIANIST
Thomas Scherman, *conducting*
The Little Orchestra

Mendelssohn's **VIOLIN CONCERTO IN E MINOR**
FREDELL LACK, VIOLINIST
Alexander Smallens, *conducting*
The Stadium Concerts Symphony Orchestra

When you receive it, first play the PERFORMANCE side—and see how much—and what—you hear in it

Then turn it over and play the ANALYSIS on the other side—and see how much you have been missing

SPONSORED BY THE BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB, this new idea is designed for those who enjoy good music but who are aware, too often, that they do not listen to it with complete understanding and appreciation. There is no doubt about the reason: most of us are not primed about *what to listen for*. MUSIC-APPRECIATION RECORDS meet this need – for a fuller understanding of music–better than any means ever devised. This enjoyable form of self-education can be as thorough as the Music Appreciation courses given in many universities.

YOU SUBSCRIBE BUT TAKE ONLY THE RECORDS YOU WANT . . . A new MUSIC-APPRECIATION RECORD will be issued–for subscribers only–every month. On one side of each of these records there is a full performance of a great musical work by a symphony orchestra. On the other side there is an illuminating analysis of the work, with the themes played separately and with running explanatory comment. You receive a descriptive Announcement about each record, written by the noted composer and music commentator, Deems Taylor. After reading this Announcement you may take the record or not as you decide at the time. *You are not obligated to take any specified number of records.* And you may stop at any time!

TWO TYPES OF RECORDS AVAILABLE . . . All MUSIC-APPRECIATION RECORDS are high-fidelity long-playing records of the highest quality –33⅓ R.P.M. on Vinylite. They are of two kinds: first, a so-called Standard Record–a *twelve-inch* disc–which presents the performance on one side, the analysis on the other. This is sold at $3.60, to subscribers only. The other is an Analysis-Only Record–a *ten-inch* disc–priced at $2.40. The latter is made available each month for any subscriber who may already have a satisfactory long-playing record of the work being presented. (A small charge is added to the prices above to cover postage and handling.)

TRY A ONE-MONTH SUBSCRIPTION—WITH NO OBLIGATION TO CONTINUE . . . Why not make a simple trial, to see if these records are as pleasurable and as enlightening as you may anticipate? The record you choose will be sent to you at once–*at no charge*. You may end the subscription immediately after hearing this record, or you may cancel any time thereafter.

PLEASE RETURN ONLY IF YOU HAVE A 33⅓ R.P.M. RECORD PLAYER

MUSIC-APPRECIATION RECORDS R11-10
c/o Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc.
345 Hudson Street, New York 14, N. Y.

Please send me at once, without charge, the MUSIC-APPRECIATION RECORD checked below and enter my name in a Trial Subscription to MUSIC-APPRECIATION RECORDS, under the conditions stated at left. It is understood that, as a subscriber, I am not obligated to buy any specified number of records, but may take only those I want. Also, I may cancel my subscription after hearing this first record, or any time thereafter at my pleasure, but the introductory record is free in any case.

AS MY FREE DEMONSTRATION RECORD PLEASE SEND ME

☐ Strauss' Till Eulenspiegel & Smetana's The Moldau
☐ Prokofiev's Symphony and Britten's Guide
☐ Wagner's Overtures
☐ Schumann's Concerto
☐ Mendelssohn's Concerto

Mr. / *Mrs.* / *Miss* .....
(PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS .....

CITY..... ZONE.... STATE.....

MAR 42

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REPORTER'S NOTES

Dictators, Beware

Who can withstand the temptation of drawing a moral from such an event as Perón's fall? Not we. Of course our first thought is to congratulate the Argentine people and the man who has been their truest ambassador to the United States during the last few years, Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, who we hope will soon be back in Buenos Aires running *La Prensa* again. Aside from stating what is so obvious that it scarcely needs to be stated, the lesson of Perón's fall had better be addressed to the people who need it most.

We mean all the various fascists and imitation fascist dictators, whose number, if anything, is increasing with the coming into existence of new sovereign nations. Perón was really very bad at his trade, and should there be a fraternal society of active or former fascist dictators, Perón wouldn't be a member in good standing. All the time he was in power, Perón was rambunctious and garrulous; he got into the silly game of inventing new social or ideological dogmas. A fascist dictator who really cares for his job should stick to his knitting, which is that of preventing every conceivable form of opposition from coming out into the open. To gain quiet and order inside his realm, he ought to set the example and repress or suppress people quietly.

Franco is the real champ of the league, the one whose behavior should be considered the most exemplary by all his fellow members. He has turned out to be by all odds the most durable of all fascist dictators. His conduct in ruling, repressing, and suppressing his own countrymen has been thoroughly professional. No fuss, no ideology, no ism. American statesmen and Members of Congress were not loath to recognize him, his durability, and his practical achievements.

Another fascist dictator, who lost both power and life just by the skin of his teeth, was Mussolini. Had he listened, in 1940, to the admonitions and the flatteries of Roosevelt and Churchill, he probably would now be one of the leaders of the democratic alliance.

As to Perón, we must acknowledge that he certainly did not suffer from any lack of American recognition or flattery. Of the six successive American ambassadors to Argentina during Perón's tenure of office, one, Spruille Braden, turned out to be a rather undiplomatic, outspoken opponent of the dictator, and another one, Ellsworth Bunker, with his cold aloofness, conveyed the idea that there are still some Americans of consequence who have no stomach for fascism. Of the other four, the less said the better. Let it be enough to quote James Bruce, who once called Perón "One of the nicest fellows I've ever met." Stanton Griffis felt that he had to immortalize in a book his lyric appraisals of Perón's greatness.

AT THE MOMENT of this writing, Perón is still said to be on a Paraguayan gunboat. Should he later decide to establish his residence in our country, he will find many old friends here. Moreover, considering the large investments that Perón and his late wife made in the States, there should be little danger that immigrant Perón will turn out to be a public charge.

In this respect only, Perón's story provides a useful lesson to his brethren, but one they scarcely need. The lesson is: Ruin your people, but keep some money salted away abroad.

Gone With the Winds

An odd mystery concerning East-West relationships is getting odder all the time. On September 22 the International Council of Christian Churches announced to the press that the Bonn government had required it to discontinue sending what the New York *Times* called "propaganda balloons" across the Iron Curtain.

We telephoned the Council to find out what was up, and reached a Mrs. Bryson, who said that I.C.C.C. balloons carried only copies of the New Testament and of Gospel tracts, and that they had been O.K.'d for transmission eastward both by Bonn and the State Department until the other day.

Then why had the Bible been stopped? It seems that Premier Bulganin was reported to have protested to Chancellor Adenauer that the United States was still sending over leaflet-carrying balloons from Germany in spite of the relaxation of international tension. Dr. Adenauer checked with our authorities, who said that the U.S. government wasn't

I DIDN'T QUITE CATCH THOSE NAMES

Who would have thought a year ago that Formosa
Would be sub-rosa?
Or that Quemoy and Matsu
Would sink from view?
And there—let me get my glasses—that tiny speck—
Why, Chiang Kai-shek!
(Funny, the tricks perspective can play on you!)

—SEC

THE REPORTER, October 6, 1955, Volume 13, No. 5. Entered as second-class matter at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Published every other Thursday, except for omission of two summer issues by The Reporter Magazine Company, 136 East 57th Street, New York 22, N. Y. Copyright 1955 by The Reporter Magazine Company. All rights reserved under Pan-American Copyright Convention. Subscription price, United States, Canada, and U.S. Possessions: One year $5, Two years $8, Three years $10. All other countries: One year $6, Two years $10, Three years $13. Please give four weeks' notice when changing your address, giving old and new addresses. Indexed in *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FREE

A Surprise Gift separately packaged will be mailed to you from Scandinavia along with your first parcel. Join now and you will receive two packages instead of one!

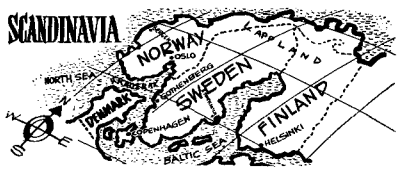
JOIN NOW!

The Scandinavian GIFT CLUB

DENMARK • NORWAY • SWEDEN • FINLAND

Have you ever longed to visit the Nordic countries of Scandinavia . . . to view the majestic awe inspiring fjords of Norway . . . to see women smoking cigars in Denmark . . . the picturesque rolling forest and farm lands of Sweden or see Finland, the land of a thousand lakes called the Wisconsin of Europe?

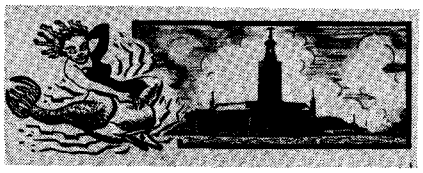
Now at no extra cost you can join the Scandinavian Gift Club and from those far away and fascinating places receive each month a very special gift that will forever endear and bring closer those distant lands to you



You can imagine yourself shopping in the tiny quaint villages and splendid big cities . . . OSLO . . . STOCKHOLM, the Venice of the North . . . COPENHAGEN, with its lovely Tivoli Park or even HELSINKI! Imagine yourself examining hundreds of unusual articles from all those lands and then selecting only the choicest in interest, usefulness and beauty. Yes, you can enjoy the thrill of receiving every month a different exciting package from Scandinavia—Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland.

You pay no postage, no duty. Full satisfaction is guaranteed in every instance or your money is cheerfully refunded.

How can this be done? The secret is the new unique service offered by the Scandinavian Gift Club plus the magic power of the American dollar. The Nordic nations in order to earn dollars which are needed to support their nation's industries are glad to offer these tremendous merchandise values in exchange. Thus your purchases also help our good neighbors across the Atlantic.



What fun to receive delightful "Surprise Packages" month after month from across the sea. It is like stretching your hand over the ocean to scenic Scandinavia. Just think of the keen anticipation in receiving your monthly gift. Yes, that is the thrill of membership.

Start your membership right now and be in time for the next regular shipment. Use coupon below or write enclosing payment (cash, check or money order) for the membership term desired.

You can also give a membership to "Someone Special!" What would make a more interesting and unusual gift than a membership in the Scandinavian Gift Club. Month after month delightful gifts will arrive from abroad to be received as continuing reminders of your thoughtfulness. A Free gift card will be enclosed. Just specify on coupon.

It costs nothing to join the Scandinavian Gift Club. There are no membership fees or dues. You pay only for the

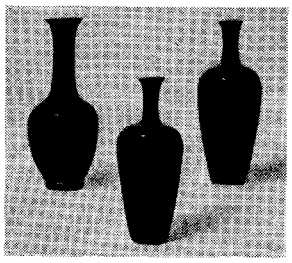
interesting monthly selections of merchandise on any of the following plans: (plus your free gift for joining now).

3 Months (3 consecutive monthly shipments) $8.00

6 Months (6 consecutive monthly shipments).....$12.00 (Save $4)

12 Months (12 consecutive monthly shipments)...$22.00 (Save $10)

(The U.S. Post Office Dept. charges a service fee of 15c for delivering foreign parcels which is collected by your postman and cannot be prepaid.)



WHAT MEMBERS SAY ABOUT THE CLUB

"Thank you for the several lovely gifts which have been received thus far. I could not have selected nicer gifts myself."
BK—Miami Beach

"I can truly say that the gifts that have arrived are worth much more than anticipated."
NJR—Philadelphia

"Thank you for the delightful gifts. My husband and I thoroughly enjoy opening our interesting gift parcels."
ST—Chattanooga, Tenn.

MAIL ORDER COUPON NOW AND RECEIVE EXTRA FREE GIFT

SCANDINAVIAN GIFT CLUB . . . Dept. 1R . . Box 314
Orange, New Jersey

Gentlemen:

Kindly enroll me as a regular member and start immediately with my first regular shipment of club's selection of foreign merchandise to be shipped from Scandinavia post and duty free and to continue through the following terms of membership:

- ☐ 3 Months . . . $ 8.00
- ☐ 6 Months . . . $12.00 (I save $4.00)
- ☐ 12 Months . . . $22.00 (I save $10.00)

Guarantee: If not completely satisfied, the balance of my membership may be cancelled any time. (Please give 30 days notice for transmittance to foreign office)

Send Gift Membership to:

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....

My Name is:

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

2

very important books from the Council on Foreign Relations

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS 1953

By RICHARD P. STEBBINS

With an Introduction by Grayson Kirk

This annual volume reviews the happenings of the year in the light of historical fact. With grace, wit — and even more important — with detached scientific analysis, Richard Stebbins records 1953 — one of the most decisive years in our national history. Do you recall, for instance, that 1953 was the year when we saw new administrations in both the White House and the Kremlin . . . that it was the year of the Bricker Amendment, the ousting of Mosaddeq, the unofficial attack on the information program? These are only a few of that year's dramatically important events—results which bear forcibly upon the history of the world today, and all are recorded in this invaluable volume. $5.00

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS 1954

Edited By PETER V. CURL

The latest volume in the famous series presenting outstanding documentary material relating to world relations during 1954. Here, in convenient reference form, are texts of conferences—Berlin, Geneva, London, Paris, Caracas . . . documents covering the Iranian oil crises, the H-Bomb experiments, the St. Lawrence Seaway. For every interested reader to keep abreast of the ever-changing picture of America in her relationships with the world. $5.00

At all bookstores

Published for the COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS by

HARPER & BROTHERS

New York

sending any official propaganda balloons at all.

If our balloons are only unofficial and private, conveying primarily the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John, Premier Bulganin had better consider the consequences of his protest. Can we allow freedom of religion to be interfered with in such a way as this? But why, Bulganin may answer, must you smuggle in the Bible by balloon?

Never Mind the Facts

The American Legion, long a foe of UNESCO, is now in the throes of internal crisis. At its national convention in Miami, October 10 through 13 it will have to take a stand on the Murphy report, a 147-page study of UNESCO by former National Commander Ray Murphy and five other Legionnaires. As *The Reporter* noted last June, Mr. Murphy and his group had concluded after a year and a half of study that UNESCO was neither Communistic nor atheistic, and had reported to the Legion's National Executive Committee that such charges were "utterly without foundation."

Though the National Executive Committee, according to a Legion press release, had given Mr. Murphy's "masterful" speech a "standing ovation," some other Legionnaires do not convince so easily. No sooner had Mr. Murphy finished than the Los Angeles Council (with the aid of Florence Fowler Lyon, a superpatriot who had stirred up a UNESCO crisis in Pasadena several years ago) went to work on a counterblast.

The Murphy Committee had examined every accusation against UNESCO and traced through willful distortions. The Los Angeles Council retorted that Mr. Murphy was a dupe of UNESCO and the State Department. It triumphantly announced that Alger Hiss had spoken in 1948 at Adelphi College on the achievements of the United Nations. Murphy's report was "a smear of the character of every member of the American Legion" and an "insulting indictment."

Although Mr. Murphy now says wearily that he expected trouble, it is difficult to understand why he did not prepare for it. He was forewarned. A year ago he had presented a similar though less thorough report to the National Executive Committee, only to be repudiated at the national convention. He declined the Executive Committee's offer this May of a vote of confidence, saying it was a matter for the entire Legion to decide. Then, apparently, he went back to his New York business and waited. He sent out copies of the report, but not many Legionnaires bothered to wade through its 147 pages.

In August Representative H. R. Gross (R., Iowa) reprinted the Los Angeles anti-Murphy indictments, together with a few accusations of his own, in the *Congressional Record*. Joe Jenkins, former Commander of the Florida Department, long a Murphy opponent, promptly wired all department heads of the "excellent analysis" and offered copies for a cent and a half apiece, together with "Congressman's franked envelopes for mailing." Representative Gross's office claims to have sent out at least fifteen thousand copies.

IN SEPTEMBER Fulton Lewis, Jr., aimed a series of broadcasts at the Illinois Legion. He mentioned that former Commander of the Illinois Department Irving Breakstone, a Murphy supporter, had sanctioned a study of the Constitution and Declaration of Independence, using money from the Fund for the Republic. He brandished the dread names of Robert M. Hutchins and the University of Chicago, hinted at the disclosures of the Cox and Reece investigations of foundations, and asked for a new Congressional investigation. By the end of the week the Illinois Legion had disavowed its former Commander, his "liberal ideas," the Ford Foundation, and the United Nations. Mr. Breakstone was not selected as a delegate to the Miami convention.

Many other states joined in. The American Committee in Houston prepared its own mailing, throwing in a plea for the Bricker amendment along with denunciations of Murphy. The Legion in twenty states is said to have passed anti-UNESCO resolutions, though Legion headquarters in Washington, busily trying to back away from any part in the fight, refuses to confirm this.

Belatedly, the Murphy forces are

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A DRAMATIC DEMONSTRATION of the Book-Dividend system of the Book-of-the-Month Club

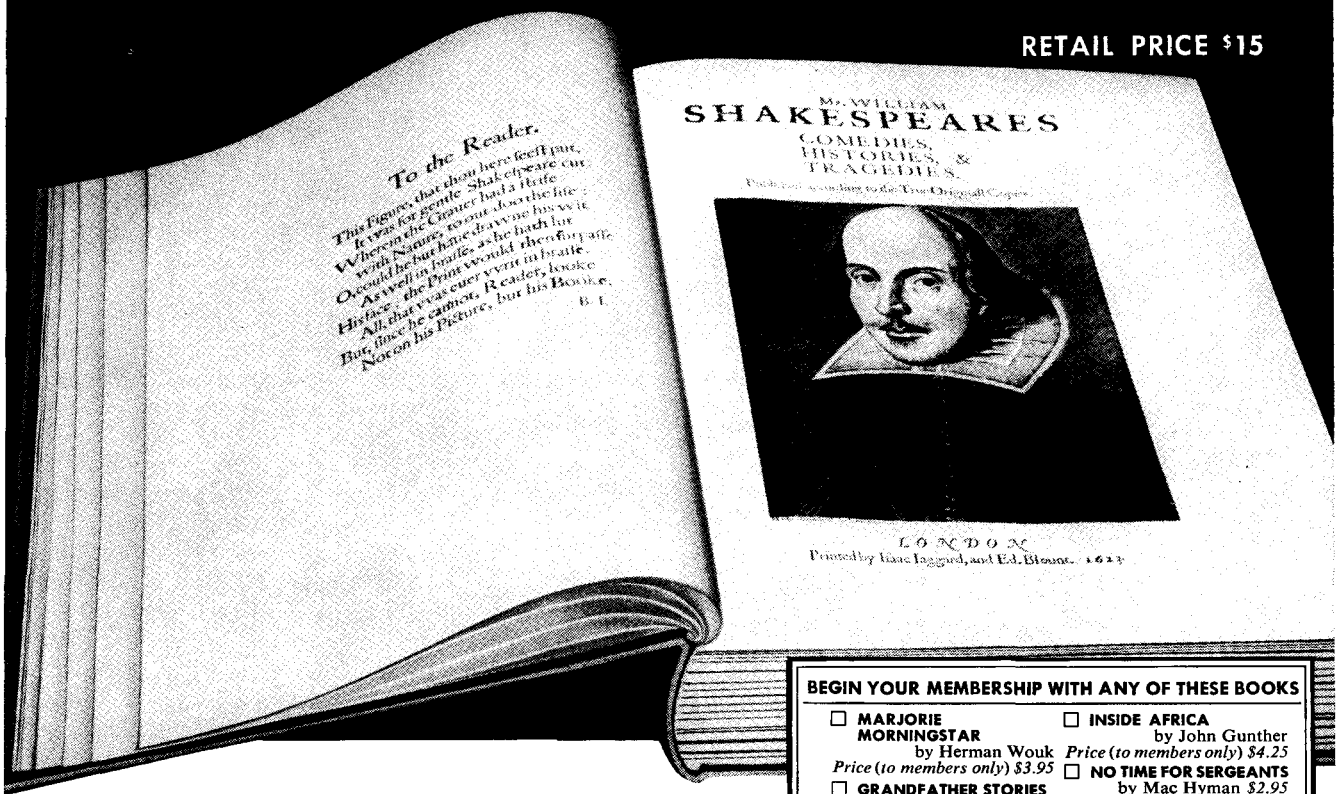
GIVEN TO YOU ... FOR YOUR LIBRARY

...IF YOU JOIN THE CLUB NOW AND AGREE TO BUY AS FEW AS FOUR BOOKS WITHIN THE NEXT YEAR

The First Folio of Shakespeare

IN A FACSIMILE EDITION PUBLISHED BY YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS

RETAIL PRICE $15



A Rare Shakespeare

• The First Folio edition of Shakespeare's plays is one of the world's most valuable books. Even copies of the last *facsimile edition*, published 45 years ago, are worth $75 to $100. This new facsimile edition will surely be among the treasured books in your library.

This extraordinary offer is designed to demonstrate the Club's unique Book-Dividend system—through which you earn valuable library volumes, free, merely by ordering the new books you do not want to miss. This member profit-sharing is similar to what happens in any consumer co-operative. A fixed percentage of what each member pays is invested in enormous editions of other books, each of which is a Book-Dividend given without charge to members. The volumes thus given away average around $6.00 each (retail value). Over $12,000,000 worth were given to members last year!

★ **AS A MEMBER YOU AGREE TO BUY FOUR BOOKS WITHIN YOUR FIRST YEAR OF MEMBERSHIP** from among the Club's Selections and Alternates. During the year at least 100 good books will be made available to you, from which you may choose. You receive a careful advance description of each Selection and if you think it is a book you would *not* enjoy, you send back a form (always provided) specifying some other book you may want. Or you may say: "Send me nothing next month."

★ **YOU WILL RECEIVE THE *FIRST FOLIO FACSIMILE EDITION* AT ONCE** with the first book you order. Thereafter with every second Club choice you buy you will receive *another* Book-Dividend free. For a list of books from which you can choose your first selection see coupon.

★ **YOU PAY MUCH LESS:** When you do buy the Club Selection you usually pay less for it than you otherwise would. Over the past two years the price paid by Club members was about *20% less*, on the average, than the retail price.

★ **YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO CANCEL YOUR MEMBERSHIP** any time after buying four books. Membership in the Club is for no fixed period, continuing until notice of cancellation is received from the member.

BEGIN YOUR MEMBERSHIP WITH ANY OF THESE BOOKS

- ☐ **MARJORIE MORNINGSTAR** by Herman Wouk *Price (to members only) $3.95*
- ☐ **GRANDFATHER STORIES** by Samuel Hopkins Adams *$3.50*
- ☐ **THE GOOD SHEPHERD** by C. S. Forester *Price (to members only) $3.75*
- ☐ **SOMETHING OF VALUE** by Robert Ruark *Price (to members only) $3.95*
- ☐ **INSIDE AFRICA** by John Gunther *Price (to members only) $4.25*
- ☐ **NO TIME FOR SERGEANTS** by Mac Hyman *$2.95*
- ☐ **HADRIAN'S MEMOIRS** by Marguerite Yourcenar *Price (to members only) $3.75*
- ☐ **GREAT RIVER (2 vols. boxed)** by Paul Horgan *Price (to members only) $5.95*
- ☐ **TIGER OF THE SNOWS:** The Autobiography of Tenzing of Everest *Price (to members only) $3.95*
- ☐ **A STILLNESS AT APPOMATTOX** by Bruce Catton *Price (to members only) $3.95*

Double Selection: ☐ **ONIONS IN THE STEW** by Betty MacDonald and **NECTAR IN A SIEVE** by Kamala Markandaya *Combined price (to members only) $3.95*

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB, Inc. **A10510**
345 Hudson Street, New York 14, N. Y.

Please enroll me as a member of the Book-of-the-Month Club.* I am to receive free, THE FIRST FOLIO FACSIMILE EDITION OF THE PLAYS OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE with the purchase of my first book indicated above. Thereafter, with every second monthly Selection—or Alternate—I purchase from the Club, I am to receive, free, the current Book-Dividend* then being distributed. I agree to purchase at least four monthly Selections—or Alternates—during the first year I am a member. I may cancel my membership any time after purchasing four selections from the Club. The price to be charged for each book will never be more than the publisher's price, and frequently less. (A small charge is added to cover postage and mailing expenses.)

Mr. / *Mrs.* / *Miss* .....
(Please Print Plainly)

Address .....

City ..... Postal Zone No. (if any) ..... *State* .....

Book prices are slightly higher in Canada, but the Club ships to Canadian members, without any extra charge for duty, through Book-of-the-Month Club (Canada), Ltd.

*Trademark Reg. U. S. Pat. Off. and in Canada

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How You Can Become a

WINE EXPERT

For Only $14.98

There's no secret to becoming a wine expert, nor does it require a bushel of money. The procedure is simplicity itself —you merely acquaint yourself with various types of wines until their characteristics become familiar to you.

You can acquire some of the knowledge from books about wine. In fact, many of them are extremely informative and entertaining. But nothing can take the place of actually tasting wines — and the more different wines you taste, the more you will learn. You'll discover for yourself, for instance, why Red Burgundies have more "body" than Red Bordeaux (usually called Clarets). And that Sauternes (with an "s" at the end) is usually sweeter than Graves.

To launch you on your new career as a "Wine Expert," we've made up assortments of leading types of imported wines. Taste each wine, compare it with others in a similar category and form your own conclusions about it. Any wine which tastes good to you, is good wine, no matter what the experts say.

Each assortment contains 12 large bottles and range in cost from $14.98 to $22.75. (Astor's prices for imported wines are probably the lowest in New York). You can phone or write for the assortment shown here or inquire about the others.

"WINE EXPERT" ASSORTMENT #27

14.98 for these 12 bottles of

IMPORTED FRENCH & GERMAN WINES

1. CHATEAU LAFITE ROTHSCHILD 1952 (Bordeaux) Red
2. BEAUJOLAIS 1953 Pierre Nesme (Burgundy) Red
3. CHATEAU LAVILLE HAUT-BRION 1952 (GRAVES) WHITE
4. POUILLY-FUISSE 1953 Pierre Nesme (Burgundy) White
5. TAVEL ROSE 1952 Est. Bot. Marcel Fraissinet (Pink)
6. ANJOU ROSE 1953 Rochambeau (Pink)
7. SYLVANER 1953 Caves Barroises Alsace (White)
8. COTES-DU-RHONE 1953 Pierre Nesme (Red)
9. CHATEAU D'ARCINS 1949 (Red)
10. CHATEAU GRAVEYON 1949 (White)
11. LIEBFRAUMILCH 1953 C. J. Lieberz (White)
12. CROZES-HERMITAGE 1952 (Red)

We can ship only within New York State. If you live elsewhere, drop in and see us whenever you visit New York.

ASTOR PLACE WINES & LIQUORS

12 ASTOR PLACE • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Phone: ORegon 4-7503-4

doing what they can. They recognize that it is too late to launch an educational program, but they will send copies of their report to all convention delegates. They are pointing out that most of the opposition to the report has come from forces outside the Legion. And they are hoping for support from the administration whose battle they are fighting.

Interviewed the other day, Mr. Murphy was a sadder and somewhat wiser man. "I guess that standing ovation was the emptiest honor I ever had," he said.

Silver Lining

While *The Reporter* stands squarely and unalterably against hurricanes—and also against the girlish nomenclature with which the U.S. Weather Bureau introduces them, as if they were a succession of bathing beauties —we cannot forbear to record one piece of unexpected good that came out of the evil visitation dubbed "Diane."

On September 21, while Radio Moscow voiced "sincere condolences to the people of the U.S.A. for the sufferings incurred by the floods of the country," the Soviet chargé d'affaires at Washington handed to the American Red Cross a $25,000 check representing a 100,000-ruble relief contribution by the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the Soviet Union. The president of the American Red Cross, gratefully accepting the gift, remarked that it would be used in part to help restore stricken small businesses.

The idea of Soviet rubles helping to rehabilitate washed-out Yankee petty-bourgeois entrepreneurs in Waterbury and Torrington, Connecticut, arouses our imagination. Such a thing would have been unthinkable before Geneva—or before Diane. Even destructive nature has its paradoxical healing and uniting powers.

But one Diane is enough. The example will suffice on either side. Let there be no comparable visitation upon the homes and acres of the Soviet Union, even though we feel sure that the American Red Cross would now stand ready to turn over as a matter of course a much larger check to aid in the restoration of collective factories and farms.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

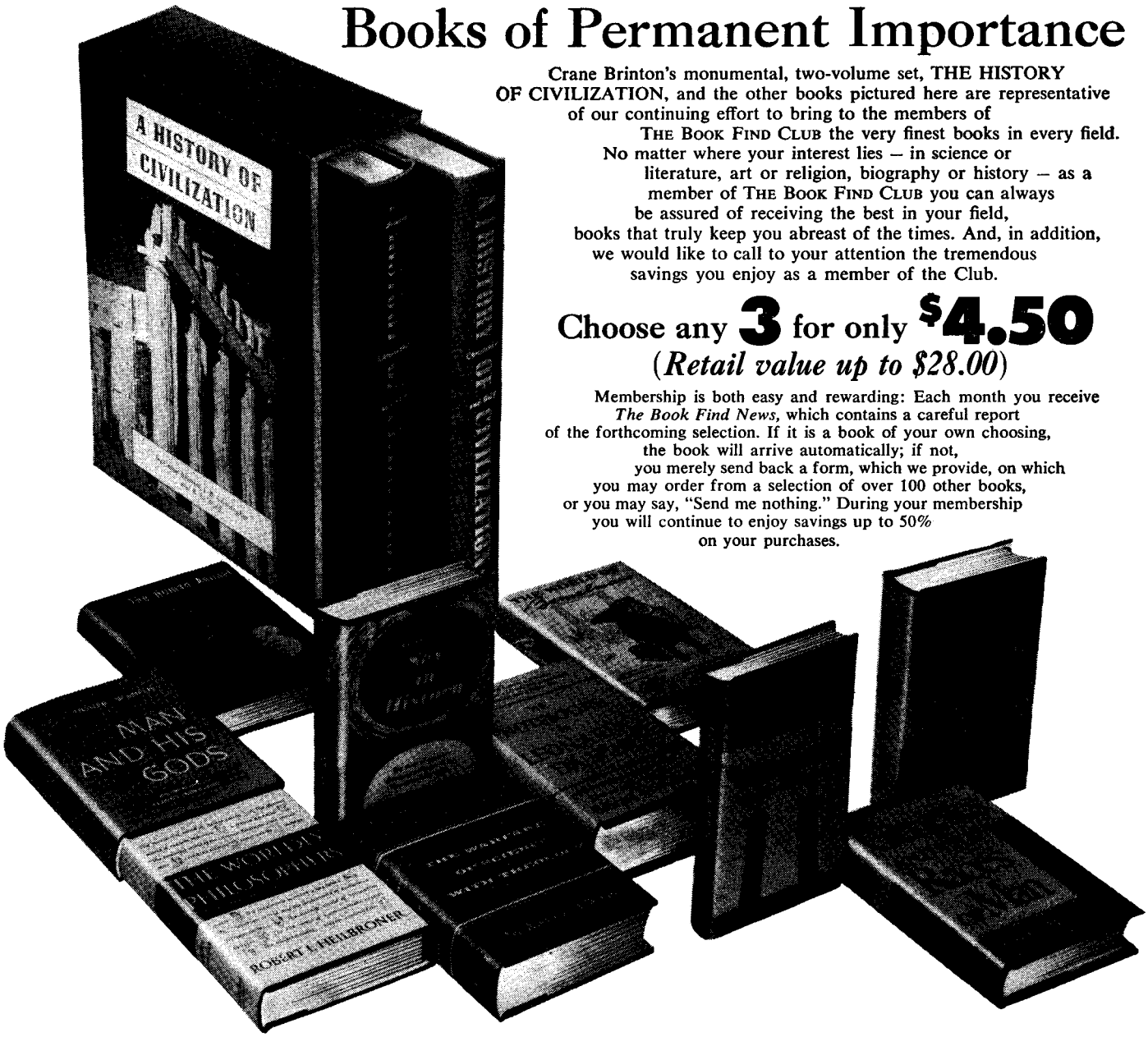
Books of Permanent Importance

Crane Brinton's monumental, two-volume set, THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION, and the other books pictured here are representative of our continuing effort to bring to the members of THE BOOK FIND CLUB the very finest books in every field. No matter where your interest lies – in science or literature, art or religion, biography or history – as a member of THE BOOK FIND CLUB you can always be assured of receiving the best in your field, books that truly keep you abreast of the times. And, in addition, we would like to call to your attention the tremendous savings you enjoy as a member of the Club.

Choose any 3 for only $4.50

(Retail value up to $28.00)

Membership is both easy and rewarding: Each month you receive *The Book Find News*, which contains a careful report of the forthcoming selection. If it is a book of your own choosing, the book will arrive automatically; if not, you merely send back a form, which we provide, on which you may order from a selection of over 100 other books, or you may say, "Send me nothing." During your membership you will continue to enjoy savings up to 50% on your purchases.



1 – A HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION. *By Crane Brinton, John B. Christopher & Robert Lee Wolff. 2 vols., boxed, more than 1400 pages, 8" x 10" Hundreds of illustrations, more than 50 maps, endpapers.* A brilliant survey of man's experience from pre-history to mid-twentieth century. *List price $16.00.* **Members' price $9.95.**

2 – SCIENCE, RELIGION AND REALITY. *Edited by Joseph Needham. Introductory Essay by George Sarton.* A brilliant discussion of the relations of science and religion by Malinowski, Singer, Eddington and others. *Pub. ed. $3.95.* **Members' price $2.45.**

3 – SEX IN HISTORY. *By G. Rattray Taylor.* The history of human attitudes towards sex and its role in society, art and religion. *Pub. ed. $5.00.* **Members' price $2.50.**

4 – THE HISTORY OF THE WARFARE OF SCIENCE WITH THEOLOGY IN CHRISTENDOM. Andrew D. White's comprehensive study of the continuing struggle for dominion over the minds of men. *One-vol. ed.* **Members' price $5.00.**

5 – THE NOTEBOOKS OF LEONARDO DA VINCI. A magnificent record of Leonardo's thought, illustrated with his drawings. *Originally published in two volumes at $15.00. One vol. ed.* **Members' price $5.00.**

6 – HIROSHIMA DIARY. *By Michihiko Hachiya, M.D.* A major documentary of our times – a tribute to the courage and hopefulness of man. *Pub. ed. $3.50.* **Members' price $2.25.**

7 – THE WORLD OF BEMELMANS. Four of his best loved books and several new stories, including SMALL BEER, and I LOVE YOU, I LOVE YOU, I LOVE YOU. *Pub. ed. $4.95.* **Members' price $2.50.**

8 – MAN AND HIS GODS. *By Homer W. Smith.* An examination of man's religious beliefs through the ages, by one of today's outstanding scientists. *Pub. ed. $5.00.* **Members' price $2.45.**

9 – THE HUMAN ANIMAL. *By Weston La Barre.* A basic work in the biological interpretation of human nature and conduct. *Pub. ed. $6.00.* **Members' price $2.50.**

10 – GENETICS AND THE RACES OF MAN. *By William C. Boyd.* Physical anthropology in the light of contemporary science. *Pub. ed. $6.00.* **Members' price $2.65.**

11 – THE WORLDLY PHILOSOPHERS. *By Robert Heilbroner.* The lives and ideas of the great economic thinkers from the 18th century to the present. *Pub. ed. $5.00.* **Members' price $2.50**

CLIP COUPON BELOW AND MAIL TODAY

THE BOOK FIND CLUB • 215 Fourth Avenue • New York 3, N. Y.

Please enroll me as a member and send me, for only $4.50 plus 24¢ postage and handling, the *three* books I have indicated by encircling the appropriate numbers at right. I am to receive free the monthly Book Find News. I agree to buy as few as 4 additional books during my first year of membership; and I may resign without obligation at any time thereafter.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

Name (please print)

Street

City Zone State

(In Canada: 105 Bond St., Toronto 2, Ont.)

R-55-3

THE BOOK FIND CLUB

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

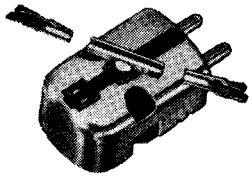
NEW

G-E "Critical Quality" Components Improve Your Hi-Fi Listening

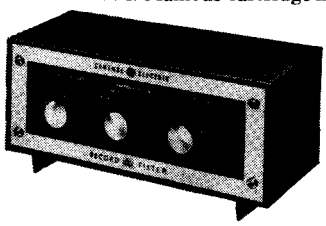
NEW

- **Clip-In-Tip Cartridge**
- **3-Way Record Filter**
- **8" Speaker Enclosure**

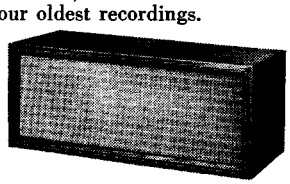
HERE are three new ways to *complete* hi-fi listening enjoyment—new custom-engineered accessories—designed and built by the *natural leader* in quality hi-fi equipment, General Electric.



New Clip-In-Tip Cartridge: Exclusive G-E design permits instant change of styli in existing G-E dual cartridges or in new single and dual cartridges. Best of all, it's the finest performer in all of G.E.'s famous cartridge history.



New 3-Way Record Filter: Three filter controls suppress turntable rumble and vibration, reduce record scratch and high frequency distortion, provide six-position compensator selection. Now, a new custom brilliance from even your oldest recordings.



New 8" Speaker Enclosure: True hi-fi performance even in limited space. "Distributed Port" design by G.E. Outstanding power handling ability, consistently smooth frequency response for all wide-range speakers. Acoustic lined chamber. Available in mahogany, blond, cherry, or unfinished.

For more information about the complete line of G-E Hi-Fi components see your hi-fi dealer, or write today to: *General Electric Company, Radio & TV Department, Section R16105-6, Electronics Park, Syracuse, New York.*

Progress Is Our Most Important Product

GENERAL ELECTRIC

CORRESPONDENCE

THE RUNAWAY CITY

To the Editor: "How Long Will New York Wait?" by A. A. Berle, Jr., and "Snapshots of the Interstate Metropolis" (*The Reporter*, September 8) are two brilliantly written and graphic analyses of the problems faced by New York City and the communities which surround it.

IRA S. ROBBINS
Citizens' Housing and Planning Council of New York
New York

To the Editor: What is happening in New York has been going on in Boston for some time. As a matter of fact, I think we are moving, here in America, toward another level of government, the metropolitan type of government, which would include not only the central core of a given area but the cities and towns around it that are more or less dependent upon the center.

JOHN B. HYNES
Mayor
Boston

To the Editor: Adolf Berle is a highly intelligent, well-informed, and literate student of New York. He has written a thoughtful, provocative piece and for this in an age of sloppy generalization we should be grateful.

I have no quarrel with his analysis of the problems of city growth, except that he has overstressed some of them, such as street congestion. After all, much of our metropolitan arterial program is designed to bypass Manhattan and midtown generally as well as afford better ingress and egress. Similarly, the housing, hospital, and rapid-transit problems are not insoluble or beyond our abilities if we can get abler and more courageous people into municipal government.

When it comes to solutions I part company with my friend Mr. Berle. I have the greatest skepticism about any formal, statutory, over-all interstate metropolitan government as distinguished from *ad hoc* authorities and other conventional regional devices. We can make metropolitan plans and carry them out even under the admittedly difficult conditions imposed by states' rights, home rule, rigged legislative majorities, fear of central authority, cheap politics, timid personnel, and financial stringencies. These conditions are aggravating, indeed maddening to men of logic and action, but they seem to be part of the democratic process. Mr. Berle fails to recognize the daily co-operation and friendly give and take of many present state and municipal officials in the solution of common problems and the informal, ingenious devices by which jurisdictional lines are crossed and even wiped out. The burgeoning suburbs are in even more serious straits than the cities, and annexation is certainly no answer.

Mr. Berle continues to believe in forms of government, while those of us who labor in the market place put our faith more and more in men.

ROBERT MOSES
New York City Planning Commission
New York

Mr. Berle has sent the following answer to Mr. Moses:

Theoretically, you might be right but I don't find that the supply of men is so frisky. Name six Americans roughly equal to yourself in the field. Or, if you like, whom would you choose for successors in your present jobs.

It took the LaGuardia revolution to get you into municipal government. I don't see the process has duplicated itself since.

ADOLPH A. BERLE, JR.
New York

To the Editor: Although Mr. Berle's description of a federally created "authority" may be helpful in some cases, the structure and functions of such a governmental overlay would have to be tailored in each case to the peculiarities of that particular metropolitan complex—and on a trial-and-error basis.

JOSEPH S. CLARK, JR.
Mayor
Philadelphia

To the Editor: The entire region around New York City is in some ways homogeneous because of the close connection between suburbs and the heart of our city. I think Mr. Berle's proposals for the organization of that region, complicated because it includes areas within three states, should be given close study and careful analysis.

There is every reason why those who earn their living through work within the city should contribute to the cost of its government, even though they do not reside within the city limits. During the entire day they receive the protection and services that those who live here enjoy, except in the field of education. They take greater advantage of our heavy investment in highways than do our own residents. Some method should be found so that they, too, are required to contribute to our budgetary needs.

I have some minor reservations. Mr. Berle feels that the state short-changes the city. I do not, except in minor ways. There is really no exact standard that can be applied, so this must remain a matter of opinion.

Another minor criticism concerns Mr. Berle's analysis of the effect of the sales tax. It is a retail sales tax only. It is really not too regressive, since food, medicine, transportation, and other items are exempted. These, coupled with rent, constitute more than two-thirds of the expenditures of the low-income family.

The analysis of the population changes that have been and are taking place is of

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

great interest. It is true that we are losing our middle-income residents far too rapidly and this will have most unfortunate repercussions.

New York City still remains the most exciting example of urban democracy anywhere throughout the world. Huge as it is, sprawling over wide areas with a population originating from every corner of the globe, it has maintained a high degree of internal harmony. Integration of those of varied races, creeds, and national origins is steadily progressing even though we still have our ghettos on far too extensive a scale.

Mr. Berle lays his finger on our greatest weakness: We are suffering losses in human values that we can ill afford if our city is to retain its democratic supremacy.

The answer is not a simple one. Some of us have urged for years greater decentralization of many of our governmental activities; local community centers toward which the neighborhood would tend to congregate; increased local interest and participation in municipal affairs. This problem, however, remains unsolved and overshadowing. Its solution is far more pressing than meeting the traffic problem, which occupies the center of attention of those generally concerned with municipal affairs.

STANLEY M. ISAACS
Minority Leader
New York City Council
New York

To the Editor: My only comments are that the problems are easier to pose than to solve and that New York and other large growing cities exist in a large measure because of the vast services they render to other parts of the country. So any solution must take into consideration not only what is best for the city but what is best for the area it serves as well.

GEORGE P. HAYS
Lieutenant General, USA (Ret.)
Waterfront Commissioner
New York

To the Editor: The thoughts expressed by Mr. Berle have been the subject of deep concern among our great American cities. The time has come when the higher political levels must sit down with representatives of local government to make certain that their power to tax does not, in fact, become the power to destroy.

The definite solution arising from such a conference might be the requirement that governments at the local level have priority on all tax funds taken from the cities up to an amount necessary to maintain the mandatory local services.

ELMER E. ROBINSON
Mayor
San Francisco

To the Editor: I would presume that affairs here must arrive at an all-around impasse before the citizens wake up to the fact that their city deserves a better fate than continuous rule by uninspired mediocrities. Unfortunately, LaGuardia and Robert Moses are rare specimens.

GOODHUE LIVINGSTON, JR.
New York

"As brilliant an analysis of our society as anything in the past decade." —JAMES RESTON, New York Times

JOHN LORD O'BRIAN's
National Security and Individual Freedom

Do we cherish our freedom as individuals? If we do, we *must* bring our security programs into accord with the rules of fair play familiar to all of us, says John Lord O'Brian. He counts up the heavy price we are still paying, in fear and mutual suspicion, for governmental policies and practices that will not even purchase security; he reminds us that we cannot safely entrust our security to the decisions of policemen. John Lord O'Brian, noted Washington attorney and authority on Constitutional Law, has argued Constitutional issues before the Supreme Court for four decades. Every upstanding American will hail—and heed—his ringing call for a return to sanity and justice in matters of security. $2.00

ROBERT H. JACKSON's
The Supreme Court in the American System of Government

"The twentieth century's first comprehensive study of the Supreme Court written by a sitting justice of the court; it conveys the full charm of Jackson's famous style . . . charged with the electricity of conviction."—EDMOND CAHN, *N. Y. Times* $2.00

"A memorable document in one of the 'great debates' of our times."—BOSTON HERALD
ERWIN GRISWOLD's
reasoned defense of
The Fifth Amendment Today
Over 60,000 copies in print
Cloth, $2.00; Paper, 50¢

Ask your bookseller about these three challenging books.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
44 Francis Ave., Cambridge 38, Mass.

IF

you're in the market for a desk dictionary, see the American College Dictionary. *Life* calls it "the finest."

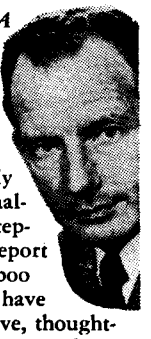
THE AMERICAN COLLEGE DICTIONARY

Wide choice of bindings from $5. At all bookstores. **RANDOM HOUSE**

"One of the most moving books I have ever read." —BERTRAND RUSSELL

Hiroshima Diary
THE JOURNAL OF A JAPANESE PHYSICIAN
AUGUST 6—SEPTEMBER 30, 1945
By MICHIHIKO HACHIYA
$3.50 wherever books are sold
CHAPEL HILL

An unforgetable reading experience and a classic of modern reporting comparable to *BERLIN DIARY* and *THUNDER OUT OF CHINA*



AN eyewitness report on Red China by the only correspondent who has been there completely on his own, a man who is fortunately one of the most literate journalists writing anywhere. A perceptive, wise, and entertaining report on life today behind the Bamboo Curtain which British critics have called "a work of art, sensitive, thoughtful, intuitive"—a book to savor from cover to cover. $3.50

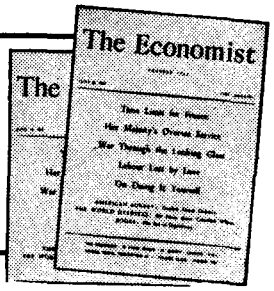
Mandarin Red
By JAMES CAMERON
Chief Correspondent,
London *News Chronicle*
At all booksellers
RINEHART AND COMPANY, 232 Madison Ave., N.Y.16

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Would you like to try the

WORLD'S MOST QUOTED Magazine?

Special Offer to Readers of The Reporter:



MOST quoted? Correct! The Economist of London is quoted by statesmen, editors, executives, scholars, thinking people everywhere. Why? Because it takes a world view of world events. Because it's so clear, lively, reliable. Why don't you find out for yourself? . . . by having The Economist mailed to you for 3 months *by air* (but you pay only *surface mail* rate—$2.50).

Simply fill and mail the coupon.

The Economist of London BLOCK LETTERS PLEASE
c/o British Publications Inc. (Dept. E)
30 East 60th St., New York. 22

Please send me by air direct from London 13 weekly issues of The Economist at the special rate of $2.50. My check is enclosed.*

Name.....

Address.....

City..... **State**.....

* *Payable to The Economist please*

WHO— WHAT— WHY—

IN HIS editorial entitled "This Liberal Magazine" (April 21, 1955), written on the occasion of *The Reporter's* sixth anniversary, **Max Ascoli** announced that the magazine was going to increase its non-political coverage. "For a liberal, only half of a man is a political animal," he wrote. We have tried to live up to this promise as well as the rush of political events has allowed us. In this issue we start tackling the problem of the education of our children from elementary school through high school. Although this is a question that has a great deal to do with politics (what hasn't?), to see it properly it must be approached in the broadest moral and social terms. Following Max Ascoli's editorial, **William Harlan Hale** discusses a new assembly-line technique that processes the qualifications of men and women for all sorts of situations and jobs, from college attendance to diplomatic careers. Up to a certain point, such a system is useful and necessary—but only up to a point. **William Lee Miller**, one of our most frequent contributors, goes into the background of the turmoil caused in our educational world by the publication of a new book by Arthur E. Bestor, Jr. Other aspects of the educational problem—Federal support to education, the private language and somewhat esoteric philosophy of the educationists, etc., etc.—will be discussed in forthcoming issues.

THE MAYOR of Florence is already a legendary figure. **Sophia Podolsky** spent six months in Florence, and this account of La Pira's personality based on direct observation is the first article she has published. She has worked with the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization in Rome.

Charlie Abrams, New York State Rent Administrator, is one of the most experienced men in the field of public housing. What he has to say about the persistence of racial discrimination, in the North as well as in the South, is disturbing but worth knowing.

Albert Lepawsky, professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of California at Berkeley, looks at the public vs. private power conflict not just in terms of Dixon-Yates but in historical perspective. He proves that this conflict has been with us for a long time and tries his best to be fair.

Roger Maren's article on composing for tape is our second by this young musicologist.

Marya Mannes has just returned from London.

Our cover is by **Charles MacMaster,** who works with crayons and colored inks.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REPORTER

A FORTNIGHTLY OF FACTS AND IDEAS

MAX ASCOLI, *Editor*
Harlan Cleveland, *Publisher*

Senior Editor, Philip Horton • *Managing Editor*, Al Newman
Associate Editor, Gouverneur Paulding
Assistant Managing Editor, Robert Bingham
Washington Editor, Douglass Cater • *Art Editor*, Reg Massie
Staff Writers: Claire Sterling, Marya Mannes, Charles Clift
Assistant to the Managing Editor, Louisa Dalcher • *Librarian*, Ruth Ames

Circulation Manager, George Hinckley • *Advertising Manager*, William Reardon
Director of Promotion, Shirley Katzander • *Production Manager*, Ann Hollyday Sharp

VOLUME 13, NO. 5 **OCTOBER 6, 1955**

THE REPORTER'S NOTES 2

Education

DEMOCRACY'S TEST—AN EDITORIAL . . . . . *Max Ascoli* 12
THE QUIZMASTERS FASTEN ONTO HIGHER EDUCATION . *William Harlan Hale* 14
THE WASTELANDS REVISITED . . . . . *William Lee Miller* 20

At Home & Abroad

THE INCREDIBLE MAYOR OF FLORENCE . . . . . *Sophia Podolsky* 26
IS EUROPEAN SOCIALISM DEAD? . . . . . *Eric Sevareid* 29
SEGREGATION, HOUSING, AND THE HORNE CASE . . . . . *Charles Abrams* 30
WHY PUBLIC POWER IS HERE TO STAY . . . . . *Albert Lepawsky* 33

Views & Reviews

MUSIC BY MONTAGE AND MIXING . . . . . *Roger Maren* 38
Channels: BLIMEY! WOT'S 'E 'AWKING? . . . . . *Marya Mannes* 43
DUTY! GERMANY! THE WAR! . . . . . *Al Newman* 45
THE ACTRESS AND THE WRITER . . . . . *Gouverneur Paulding* 46
BOOK NOTES 48

Editorial and Business Offices:
136 East 57th Street, New York 22, N. Y.

Manuscripts or artwork submitted to The Reporter should be accompanied by addressed envelope and return postage. The publisher assumes no responsibility for the return of unsolicited manuscripts or artwork.

THE VILLAGERS AND DEATH
by Robert Graves

The Rector's pallid neighbor at The Firs,
Death, did not flurry the parishioners.
Yet from a weight of superstitious fears
Each tried to lengthen his own term of years.
He was congratulated who combined
Toughness of flesh and weakness of the mind
In consequential rosiness of face.
This dull and not ill-mannered populace
Pulled off their caps to Death, as they slouched by,
But rumoured him both atheist and spy.
All vowed to outlast him (though none ever did)
And hear the earth drum on his coffin-lid.
Their groans and whispers down the village street
Soon soured his nature, which was never sweet.

If you like this poem, you will like the book from which it is taken, "Collected Poems 1955." If you haven't been reading much contemporary poetry recently (and who has?), I think you will get a pleasant surprise from this book.

You will notice I say "contemporary," not "modern" poetry. The latter word has an unfortunate connotation, and Robert Graves, happily, is no modernist. His poetry has the emotion, the careful craftsmanship and, above all, the clarity associated with good poetry of any period.

Robert Graves' "Collected Poems 1955" contains the best of his poetry. This means, as most critics agree, it contains just about the best poetry being written today.

L. L. Day
EDITOR-AT-LARGE

"Collected Poems 1955," by Robert Graves, $4.50, is published by Doubleday & Company, 575 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y. Copies may be obtained from your bookseller or from any of the 30 Doubleday Book Shops, newest of which is located at 6315 York Road, Baltimore, Maryland. Mr. Graves' most recent novel, "Homer's Daughter," is also available in bookstores.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Education—Democracy's Test

If there ever was a time when we could allow ourselves some emergency thinking on fundamentals, that time is now. There is a lull in the air. The lull in domestic politics has so subdued party controversies that for most of us it is rather difficult to figure how, a few months hence, the ritual flurry of a Presidential election may make us eagerly respond to passionate appeals in the name of the nation's destiny. There is a lull also in the demagogues' furious battering away at the freedom and privacy of the American citizen. As to the threat of war, even the gloomiest among our Cassandras reluctantly and iffily concede that it has been put off for two or three years. This time of global relaxation of tension demands unrelaxed thinking.

No one knows how long these lulls will last or what has brought them about. Even those who stood most firmly against the fury of the right-wing anarchists can claim but moderate credit for the still precarious abatement of that fury. We can, however, start sizing up the extent of the devastation it left behind. We also know that the demagogues have failed to unearth a single active center of Communist treason—a disturbing thought, considering the infinite ramifications of the Communist conspiracy.

Yet the mere fact that the violence of the scourge seems to have spent itself has heartened a large number of well-meaning Americans, though it is plain that the poisonous germs have not been isolated and that nothing even remotely like a vaccine has been found. Actually, not much comfort can be derived from the thought that the epidemic has relapsed into localized and persistent low-degree infections, just as small comfort can be drawn from the observation that, so far, our people have shown a singular immunity to Communism.

With commendable candor, our Communist antagonists in Moscow have let us know that they have no doubt as to their ability to conquer the world—short of war. We consider their boast half alarming and half ludicrous, for we are incessantly told by our leaders that freedom, in the end, will prevail, and that time is on our side. We rely on the magic of our virtue and the deterrent power of our weapons. Yet we are engaged in a deadly game with an opponent who not only boasts about his ultimate victory but knows all that vicious minds can know about foul play.

Moreover, should Communism—always short of war—succeed in humiliating our nation, then we can be sure that the present low-grade infection will flare up with renewed fury.

This is why the job of reassessing our values is of an emergency nature. Can our values, our beliefs, stand the test of being constantly rediscovered and validated? Can they be made more vigorous and compelling, and give us all the support and the strength we need in the hard trials ahead?

Assimilating the Past

To peer into our nation's future and assess the vitality of our ideals we need no crystal ball. We had better look at our schools, at the way the beliefs our nation lives by are rediscovered and validated by our children today and every day.

By all odds the educational system is the most decisive among all the devices a society possesses to rule and perpetuate itself—certainly more important than law enforcement or national defense. The core of a nation's philosophy is to be found in its philosophy of education, for it is what the educators do to the young people in school that ultimately decides the success or failure of the statesmen.

This is particularly true—perhaps uniquely true—of America. No other great nation has such a system of education, so colossally decentralized. In nearly literal sense it can be said that the American school system is run by and for the American people, with the countless local authorities and, above all, the teachers, as trustees. It must be added immediately that the staggering dimensions of the system, the number of young people compulsorily educated, and finally the absence of anything even remotely resembling a Federal agency with power to run every school in the land—all these are precious traits of our country that ought to be cherished and kept working at their best.

But to cherish this system of ours does not mean to be unaware of the extraordinary risks it entails—risks we can run confidently, provided that the largest possible number of people and not just the educators

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are aware of what is at stake. The destiny of the nation is at stake in the education of every one of its children. In 1909 a boy graduated from Abilene High. Later he gained a professional training for the career he had chosen, and throughout his life his professional experience grew apace with the extraordinary responsibilities he was given. Yet his basic mental and social habits were molded at Abilene High.

If our civilization is to be enriched, it must be relived by every single child. It is in the schoolroom—or mostly in the schoolroom—while assimilating little tidbits of what has been the experience of men before him, that the child first makes the acquaintance of the human person, of the spiritual being he is. Gradually the child learns to find in the singularity of his own experience the basis for communication with other human persons. In the schools the casual associations of the child can develop into friendships; because of, or in spite of, the company he finds himself in, the child learns to recognize his loneliness, how and to what extent he should reconcile himself to it, how and to what extent he can emerge from it. If he is going to be worth anything throughout his adult life, he will never quite get rid of his loneliness.

All this growing and maturing is of course related to the quality of the teaching imparted. Or what other reasons than indoctrination and learning could there be for locking up children in school for countless hours, for years and years of their lives? Indeed, not even the most severe physical handicaps and not even crime exempt children from compulsory education. This is something for which we ought to be truly grateful to our laws, for there is no better training for freedom than this compulsion. Later the man who grows out of the child has many, many occasions to practice obedience, but it is only as a child in school that he can learn the reward of obedience, that satisfaction for work well done which trains him for further acts of obedience. This training for freedom has its final test when obedience is self-imposed.

Everything for the Child

It would be nonsensical to indict our whole educational system, this gigantic, sprawling network of authorities blissfully free from the rule of any centralized, nation-wide authority. Yet it would be uncandid to deny that there is something quite wrong, quite debilitating, running through the system. What is wrong does not come out of any evil intention but rather out of habits that have become widespread and prevailing—habits determined perhaps by an exuberance of good will and a tender but excessive concern for the immediate well-being of the child. So it happens that what should be the culminating point of a hard process of learning—the articulate unfolding of the human person—has come to be considered as already achieved from the first moment the child gets into school. But unfortunately there is not much relationship between childish self-expression and that hardest of all things, the expression of one's self—unless it is that through a hard training in controlled self-expressions, each one more demanding than the other, the child is led to recognize his own self and to express it.

This does not mean—it need scarcely be added—that all children, irrespective of scholarly qualification and attainment, should be trained to be craftsmen of expression, or what is called intellectuals. Rather it means that every child, as a reward for countless hours of school detention, is entitled to an education that may allow him in due course to hold a profitable job, and at the same time to evade the drudgery of his job. This should make him fit not just to hold a job and enjoy a hobby but to exercise his rights as a worker and a citizen.

Our most outspoken educational leaders are second to none in their concern with citizenship, "the development of the good individual in the good society." The only trouble is that they offer all these inestimable benefits to their pupils with a constantly marked-down price tag. This, inevitably, means cheapening—a cheapening of individual and social values that we, the grown-ups, are apt to take in our stride, considering how much happier our children are in school than we ever used to be. But it is difficult not to be alarmed when we see how what the educators call a "single educational ladder" actually looks very much like an escalator.

DIFFERENT from Communism or any other ism, democracy cannot be taught. It must be constantly regained and tried out by men and women of sturdy character and fearless mind. Our leading educators agree that democracy cannot be taught: It must, they say, be experienced, and experienced in schools entirely free from any form of discrimination. They are right—to a point. For even tolerance and brotherhood, these most humane of all virtues, to become really ingrained in a man's character need to be inculcated through education both of the soul and of the intellect.

Intellectualism is particularly distasteful to many of our educational leaders. Yet whenever the demagogues' anti-intellectualism goes on a rampage, the educators are among the first and the easiest targets of attack. They are in real difficulties then, for they have abandoned the sure ground on which to make a stand. In self-defense, if for no other reason, they should reconsider their ways and bring their minds into step with their hearts. This will demand considerable effort on their part. Excellent people as they are, taken together they turn out to be an obdurate and irritable lot.

Yet the troubles of their craft and the mending of their ways are by no means their exclusive concern. For today's children are the nation of tomorrow.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Quizmasters Fasten Onto Higher Education

WILLIAM HARLAN HALE

THIS SUMMER the officials of the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, the Sears-Roebuck Foundation, and Time Inc. examined the state of American education and their bank accounts, and on September 7 joined in the dramatic announcement of the formation of the National Merit Scholarship Corporation. This is a holding fund set up with initial grants ranging from Ford's $20 million to Time's $30,000 to provide several hundred four-year college scholarships for outstanding high-school seniors across the land. To winnow the immense number of applications expected for these unique prizes, a competition will be set up to reach into the nation's twenty-five thousand public, private, and parochial high schools. Four successive steps of screening and testing are to be applied to ensure that this massive investment will bring forth our very brightest and best.

What kind of testing will this be, and who will apply it? "The preliminary tests are all of the objective type," I was told by Dr. John M. Stalnaker, president of the new corporation. "The Educational Testing Service is working on them for us right now. Have you talked to the E.T.S. people?"

I HAD INDEED. Until a few months ago, however, I had never heard of them. My acquaintance had begun when a friend remarked to me, "If you're interested in what's going on in education, there's an outfit in Princeton you might do well to look into. They're in the business of designing and giving standardized or 'objectivized' examinations for just about everything under the sun. Remember the old College Entrance Board exams you and I took? Well, these people are giving them now, using I.B.M. machines. And tests in high schools, law schools, and graduate schools, plus aptitude tests, personality tests, engineering and teacher-training tests—anything. Yes, and tests for admission to Annapolis, West Point, and even your old outfit, the Foreign Service."

"All this is done by machines?" I asked.

"True-false, yes-no tests. All you do is to make squiggles on an answer form. The rest is done electrically."

"You say all this goes on at Princeton?"

"What's more, they've got batteries of Psychology Ph.D.s and statisticians who are working with big corporations to spot top-drawer executives, and they hope to pinpoint promising young engineers by psychometric methods at the age of twelve."

Quantifying Made Easy

I sent for the latest literature from E.T.S. and received a 135-page Annual Report that opened with a roster of eminent trustees, including four heads of large colleges. The trustees were followed by four pages of advisory committees drawn from high levels in government, public education, and the foundations. An Advisory Board on Research Related to Industry included partners in two major New York investment houses, the board chairmen of the New York Life Insurance Company and the National City Bank of New York, and the presidents of Time Inc. and the International Business Machines Corporation.

Clearly, E.T.S. was a major operation, and it loomed even larger as I read on. Aside from the examinations E.T.S. conducts for government services and the College Entrance Board (130,000 candidates tested under the latter in the academic year 1953-54; 170,000 last year), its activities have included National College Freshmen and Sophomore Testing Programs (281,000 tests administered in 1954); a Medical College Admissions Test (more than twelve thousand candidates tested in 1954 for 82 medical schools, including those of Harvard, Yale, Columbia, and Johns Hopkins); a Law School Admission Test (required or recommended by more than fifty law schools); National Teacher, Actuarial, Engineering, Surgery, Business School, Merchant Marine, and Graduate School Selection exams; and the Selective Service College Qualification Test, used by draft boards to determine educational draft deferments (more than half a million men tested in three years). Whether your ambition is to be an ambassador or just a freshman at one of the "better" colleges, the chances are that at some point you must first surmount the hurdles erected by E.T.S. and its "objective" tests.

THESE TESTS, quick to take and quick to grade, are tailored to the pressure of unprecedented numbers upon our educational facilities. E.T.S. speaks of the requirements of "close budgeting, tight control, and production-line procedures." The tests are "structured" into "batteries" that "quantify" data under "ego-involving conditions" at varying rates of "speededness." The raw scores attained by a candidate, according to Dr. Henry S. Dyer, E.T.S.'s vice-president in charge of research, and a dean of the psycho-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

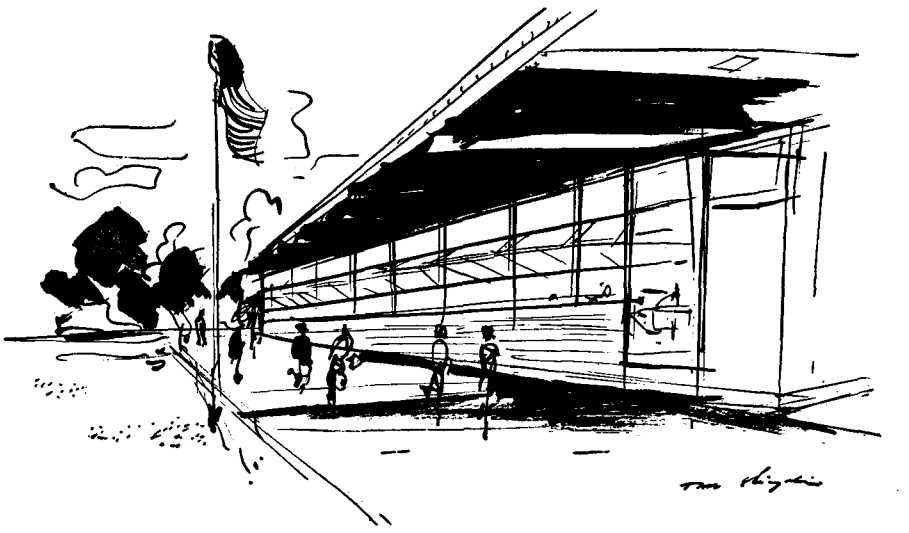
metric profession, can be converted into a "valid scale score" by application of the formula "Raw Score= *R–kW*." There is an improved testing device called the AGO Factor-Matrix Rotator, and E.T.S. is interested in something known as the Universal Scorer and Computer.

The section on "Research" in the E.T.S. Annual Report stated that the Air Force, the Coast Guard, the Bureau of Naval Research, and several business corporations have been sponsoring E.T.S. studies in personality measurement. One of these, undertaken for the Navy, was entitled "A Comparison of Need-Achievement Stories Written by Experimentally 'Relaxed' and 'Achievement-Oriented' Subjects." Its conclusion, whose bearing on naval affairs was not immediately apparent, was that "On the average, the aroused group wrote longer stories and had higher achievement-motivation scores."

E.T.S. has developed a "personality research inventory" for "factorially pure" measurement of aspects of personality, to which "eight new scales" have recently been added: "Insight, foresight, democratic attitude, social idealism, compulsiveness, tolerance of ambiguity, social know-how, and spiritual vs. material attitude." (Before they hit on these eight, E.T.S. had been working with "talkativeness, altruism, gregariousness, artistic vs. practical attitude, and masculinity-femininity.")

HENRY CHAUNCEY, the president of E.T.S., reports that the "guidance battery" his organization has been working on will "measure all the separate aptitudes and abilities that have been identified to date as relevant and significant for success in the major vocational areas." *All!* Measure them *all?* I gulped.

As I skimmed President Chauncey's report, red-lettered subheadings struck the eye: URGENT NEED TO UNCOVER HIGH-LEVEL SCIENTIFIC TALENT . . . URGENT NEED FOR GREATER EDUCATIONAL EFFICIENCY . . . NEED FOR MORE EFFICIENT GUIDANCE PROCEDURES. . . . "If we are to maintain our technological superiority . . . ," wrote President Chauncey, we "must produce a large number of very able scientists and engineers. . . . Yet the future of America depends also on the quality of leadership available in government, business, and the professions." President Chauncey did not include the arts in his listing of what America's future might depend on. He did point out, however, that "we must make fuller use of our raw intellectual resources than we have."



A raw resource, I learned, is one we should spot very early—"preferably in the fifth or sixth grade, or even sooner"—in order "to identify talented youth before unfavorable environmental circumstances have limited their development" and before their "individual self-images" have become "fixed." We must "encourage them to train for highly specialized work. . . ."

URGENT NEED TO UNCOVER HIGH-LEVEL SCIENTIFIC TALENT, I read again.

Just then my son Jonathan, aged nine, zoomed across the living room impersonating a space rocket—a field in which at the moment he has the liveliest of self-images.

Well, I mused, you raw little intellectual resource, just wait until Mr. Chauncey and the Universal Scorer and Computer get hold of *you!*

Watch Out for the Distracters!

Princeton houses not only the Educational Testing Service and a great university but also such question-asking institutions as the American Institute of Public Opinion, Gallup & Robinson, the New Jersey Poll, Benson & Benson, and Opinion Research. There is no sign outside E.T.S.'s brick building across the street from the university's towers and battlements.

After setting forth my credentials in a large book, I was permitted to go upstairs and meet President Chauncey, who immediately put me at ease. Instead of the high-pressure technological wizard his report had led me to expect, I found a tall, bronzed, strikingly fit, and relaxed man of fifty, ready to light up a pipe with a visitor and sling his feet up opposite the well-used fireplace of his study. He had somewhat the air of a genial college dean. He began his educational career, in fact, as an assistant dean at Harvard, before he branched out into "objective" testing and machine scoring. A minister's son, Groton boy, and all-round athlete in Harvard's Class of 1927, he was called back two years later to specialize in freshman scholarships and admissions. There he remained during the educational upheaval of the 1930's. During the war he moved over to the private colleges' joint College Entrance Examination Board, becoming its director before leaving to set up E.T.S. in 1948.

President Chauncey now heads a staff of more than four hundred, from Ph.D.s down to scorers and supply clerks, stationed in six buildings in Princeton and a field office on the West Coast. A Bachelor of Arts himself (and honorary Doctor of Science, Tufts), he also holds an appointment as visiting Lecturer in Psychology at Princeton, with rank of full professor. Besides helping guide the young to advancement, he deals with people on top who wish to be guided. Last spring, representatives of thirty-odd corporations met under E.T.S. auspices in Princeton to thrash out the ques-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion "What makes a good executive?"

Scoring some 850,000 individual tests as well as marketing other exams to be scored by the schools and colleges themselves, E.T.S.'s gross revenue topped $3.5 million last year. How much was the profit, I asked vice-president and treasurer Richard H. Sullivan, a brisk young ex-Naval Intelligence officer also out of Harvard. (All of Mr. Chauncey's executives except one are well under forty, and most are from Harvard.) Mr. Sullivan reminded me that E.T.S. is a nonprofit organization. "The gain," he said, "was almost $350,000." I asked what they were doing with the gain. It was being plowed into further research and into acquiring a larger headquarters, and there was talk of investing in a new electronic scoring machine.

President Chauncey's own aspiration, as I understood it, is to supply techniques that will make for more equitable access to higher education and vocational opportunity. He was quick to say that he himself was not a professional in psychometrics and did not pretend to understand all the mathematical details of his experts' work. He also wanted to make it clear that there was no question of E.T.S.'s "objective" tests taking over in the educational world: They were only part of the general picture, and his people were still experimenting with them. His main interest was simply in fair and accurate measurement—in "quantifying" things that had never been reliably measured before.

"LET ME get clear just what you mean when you speak of 'objective' tests," I said. "I had assumed that any good test was objective—that is, designed to bring forth full responses and grade them fairly."

"But old-fashioned tests—that is, of the essay type—were not really objective," I was told. "All ours are."

"Although we do have one which you might call semi-objective," added Jack K. Rimalover, E.T.S.'s young secretary, formerly an administrator at Columbia.

"An objective test," I learned, "is one from which the human factor in grading has been eliminated. It is a test so devised that the person scoring it performs only a clerical or mechanical operation that requires no exercise of judgment."

"A simple yes-no quiz?" I asked. "A questionnaire?"

"It's not really so simple. We call them 'multiple-choice' questions. Some are simple. Some are very advanced and tricky. In every case there are 'distracters.' "

"There are what?"

"Answers suggested to you that may sound right if you aren't really sure of your ground, but that aren't really right. Only one is right."

"It's never a matter of writing out your own answers to a question, then?"

"That would be an essay-type or 'free-response' exam. Research has shown that the new, objective type is far more reliable. Now all the answers are put there for you on the form. All you have to do is to check the right one."

For instance, in the old essay-type days of the College Entrance Board, a question in American history might have read, "Discuss the effects of the Open Door policy on America's role in the Orient (*Fifteen minutes*)." Now an "objective" question in this area might read:

"The author of the Open Door policy was: (1) Elihu Root; (2) Theodore Roosevelt; (3) John Hay; (4) Woodrow Wilson; (5) Sun Yat Sen (*Check one*)."

"The objective test," explained President Chauncey, "gives us a sampling or montage of the mind. It measures some qualities well at the neglect of others. The fuller essay exam doesn't measure any of them well."

In fact, under E.T.S. administration there isn't any College Entrance Board examination devoted entirely to American history any more. Instead, there is an examination on "Social Studies," into which history is incorporated. As President Chauncey put it when this test was first introduced, "From the Social Studies Test, one gets a large number of candid-camera shots of the individual, 150 or more, while from the former American history examination one got six or eight posed photographs." Further on he wrote that the new test "is not inappropriate for students whose secondary-school program is without a course in American history, but some allowance should be made in interpreting the scores of such students." In other words, ignorance on such a subject as American history can be compensated for by adequate answers on others.

DID TESTS such as these, I asked, now form the main reliance of all the institutions that subscribed to them? By no means, I was told by the vice-president in charge of operations, William W. Turnbull, a slim, briskly spoken man whom President Chauncey had spotted as a rising young psychologist, again at Harvard. "A college scholarship committee, for instance, would want three things—the boy's classroom record, our test scores, and his principal's recommendation. What follows is a matter of weighting. You see, if you have to study these three factors intuitively, you go through complex mental operations. But if you set up rank lists on the basis of preassigned weights and apply them to each individual by a mechanical, unthoughtful process, you don't have to spend much time on details about students well up on the scale and so can devote your attention to borderline cases. This means individualizing."

Which type of test or evidence now carries the greatest weight? "On a scale of ten," said Mr. Turnbull, "a weight of four might be assigned to the student's classroom record, four to our test scores, and two to the principal's recommendation."

I mentioned that in many public schools, classroom records themselves are now being compiled with the help of E.T.S. "co-operative" quiz tests. Didn't that mean that the total weight of this type of scoring might rise as high as eight? Mr. Turnbull conceded that in any case its weight was increasing.

Donne, Be Not Proud

Asking for a chance to see the objective method in action, I was given a sample of a new college "battery" called an "area test," designed "to assess the broad outcomes in education in the liberal arts from the sophomore year through the first year of graduate study." The one question in the field of literature given in the sample presented the sonnet by John Donne that begins,

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"This is my play's last scene; here heavens appoint/My pilgrimage's last mile . . ." After reading the poem, the advanced college student in the liberal arts is required to check the nature of its verse form (five alternatives given), check what it "expresses" (five brief alternatives also given), and then check the following:

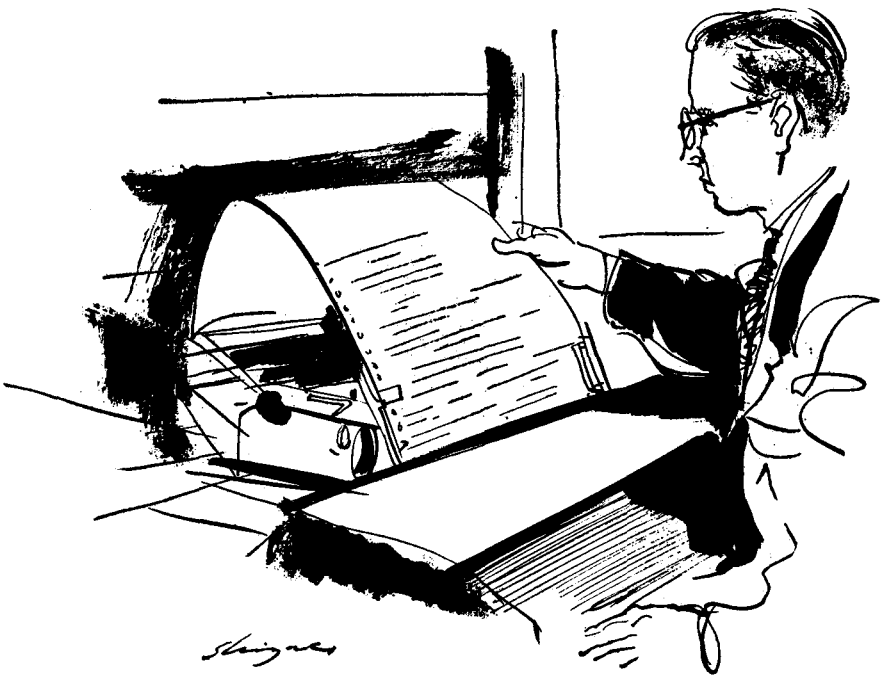
"The poem is more poetic than the paraphrases made [of it] because it is (a) less systematic; (b) less concise; (c) more imaginatively concrete; (d) harder to understand; (e) composed of more unusual words."

The correct answer, according to the E.T.S. examiners, is (c). So much for John Donne and "the broad outcomes in education in the liberal arts."

President Chauncey admitted that the objective system wasn't ideally suited to people interested particularly in the arts. "They dislike any kind of process that everyone must go through: It smacks of standardization. It's true that a man headed for the arts might not get very good grades in objective tests."

I went on to look at tests in languages, ancient and modern, as now designed by E.T.S. for the College Entrance Board. Here, too, all the questions (more than a hundred in a one-hour examination) are of the objective or "check one" kind. The student is not asked to translate a passage into English, and he is specifically exempted from any obligation to have picked up even a passing acquaintance with the culture and literature of the language on which he is being tested. This applies even to the third- or fourth-year student who gets the same exam as his elementary neighbor—although, as a prospectus concedes, "The students who have studied a language for two years will not ordinarily be able to answer as many items correctly as will those who have studied the same language for three or four years." What the student of any number of years now gets is a series of printed alternative phrases, of which he is to choose the "right" one. Thus:

"C'est la fin de l'entr'acte, et la pièce est très amusante. Vous dites à votre camarade: (1) *La pièce va commencer tout de suite.* (2) *Qu'allons-nous faire maintenant?* (3) *Allons reprendre nos places.* (4) *Voulez-vous aller fumer une cigarette?* (5) *Si nous allions au cinéma?"*



According to E.T.S., when the theater intermission is over, you are obliged to say to your comrade only, "Come, let us retake our places." No asking the girl to have one more cigarette!

The Latin test steers scrupulously clear of any entanglements with the content of the classics. It deals only with applied vocabulary, as if testing a busy visitor to a Roman tepidarium. A passage "adapted" from Ovid is presented, of which the less advanced students are supposed "perhaps to get the general drift," and on which all hands are then asked to turn to and answer such questions as: "The word *finge* (line three) means (1) touch, (2) grant, (3) invent, (4) suppose." Correct answer: "suppose." In case you miss *finge*, you are not to worry but hurry on to the next item.

Guessing is not encouraged. And yet an E.T.S. prospectus says that "If . . . you are not sure of the correct answer to a question but with some knowledge you are able to eliminate one or more of the answer choices as wrong, your chance of getting the right answer is improved and it will be to your advantage to answer such a question." Maybe just a little guessing, then.

How, for instance, would you answer this question in "Social Studies": "The most frequent source of conflict between the western and eastern parts of the United States during the course of the nineteenth century . . . was (1) the issue of currency inflation; (2) the regulation of monopolies; (3) internal improvements; (4) isolationism vs. internationalism; (5) immigration." According to any history book, issues (1), (2), and (3), often jointly, were frequently recurring sources of conflict. But which was the *most* frequent? Could a statistical yardstick be applied to measure precisely just which made itself heard most often? Or isn't one man's guess just about as good as another's? I guessed (2), monopolies. Wrong! It was (1), currency inflation.

Coming to English composition—a subject that, I had always presumed, concerned one's ability to write cogently in our language—E.T.S. has put into nation-wide practice a test that involves no writing at all. Instead, the student corrects somebody else's writing. For instance:

"Cod-liver oil is very good for children. It gives them vitamins they might otherwise not get."

Now what's wrong here? Several possible improvements are presented: (1) connect the sentences with a comma, (2) with a comma and the word "for," (3) with a semicolon and "for." Or you can answer "No

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

change." You might feel the sentences had better be improved in other ways, but you are not given this alternative. So I shrugged and answered "No Change." Wrong again. There should be a connecting comma and "for." Who says so? The team of E.T.S. "test-developers" who worked up the question say so. While the human factor has been eliminated in scoring "objective" tests, it evidently survives in setting them.

This type of test, according to a College Entrance Board booklet, "provides an *indirect* measure of the ability to write English." It is not only simpler but also fairer than an actual essay exam, because of "the enormous labor that would be required to read and mark some 50,000 essays," and the fact that "readers do not agree very well in their marking of essays." On the other hand, all scorers agree on where the right check mark should go after the cod-liver-oil question.

A College Entrance Board General Composition Test, in which you actually write, still does exist, but only on a precarious year-to-year basis; it is "used more for counseling than for college admission," according to the Board, and only about five thousand candidates took it last spring. Compulsory English essay testing went out in the 1940's, when the colleges simply threw up their hands in the face of the deluge of applicants—although not without a protest by a Board committee which expressed its concern that there now "ceased to be any testing of certain crucially important educational values."

Among the values the committee was talking about was the ability to express thoughts or set down information cogently. "It is not possible to set up a multiple-choice item . . . that requires the student to develop ideas in sequential order," admitted Dr. Dyer of the E.T.S. staff. But his technicians with their psychometric candid cameras could hit the high spots, entirely independently of what a student had or had not studied. "We can't cover your preparation," one of them remarked to me, "but we can measure your key skills and motivation." So I let Mr. Rimalover take me downstairs to show me how an I.B.M. machine could measure my motivation.

All Hope Abandon

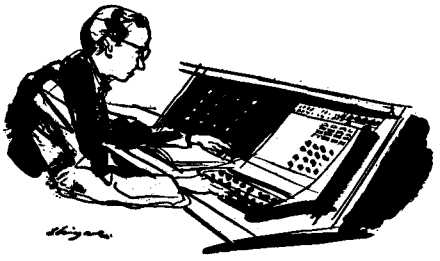
We went through neon-lit corridors past the packing and shipping departments into a long air-conditioned room lined with low-slung gray machines busy taking in, digesting, and then ejecting buff-edged cards in even-paced regularity and almost complete silence. Some of the machines were watched by attendants and some were not.

"What's this machine doing?" I asked.

"Correlating a law exam," said Mr. Rimalover. Hundreds of cards bearing serial code numbers but no names, whose only individuality lay in the arrangement of their perforations, flipped into place.

We passed through a second room, even larger and more silent, half submerged below the level of the outside court, in which rows of card-file cabinets lined the walls. "Complete examination records, going away back," said Mr. Rimalover.

Next came an interior room, almost subterranean, in which a few elderly ladies sat waiting with inscrutable faces beside long, bare illuminated tables. "Hand scorers," said my guide in passing. He led me to the final room, conveying a certain sense of awe as we entered to look upon another area of levers, slots, and keys glinting under the lights. "These are the actual scoring machines," he said. "The I.B.M. people developed them especially for us. That new one over there alone rep-



resents an investment of twenty-five thousand dollars."

We approached the nearest machine, which had roughly the shape of a home washing machine. It was covered with dials and buttons. "Right here," said Mr. Rimalover, pointing to a narrow slot, "is where your answer sheet goes in." A completed form was held up for me, imprinted with hundreds of little squares in which some recent candidate had made his penciled answering marks. "When we give you this form to fill in, we also give you a special graphite pencil," Mr. Rimalover added, presenting me with one. "The pencil, of course, comes back to us, along with the completed form. The graphite, you see, is to ensure that when you mark your answers on the form, an electrical contact will be set up between the right ones and the scoring machine—so."

The sheet went into the machine, a hundred electrified copper fingers reached out to it, a stencil or template permitted only those to pass through that would connect with smudges of graphite marked in the correct squares, then presto! a needle on a dial whirled into position and the student's total examination score could be read off at a glance.

"Did he pass?" I asked.

"There isn't a passing grade. The man gets a raw score here that is converted to a score on a scale of two hundred to eight hundred—that's done mechanically, too—which gives him his rating in relation to all the others taking the test. This goes on a card to the college of his choice. The individual process takes only about ten seconds."

"Suppose," I said, "something goes wrong with the machine. Say some of those circuits cross or short out or something. Couldn't hundreds of careers be ruined?"

"We cross-check with other machines," said Mr. Rimalover briskly. "If there are discrepancies, we reconcile them. And samples always go to the hand scorers. They don't miss."

Heads or Tails?

E.T.S. came into being seven years ago as a merger of the testing facilities of three organizations long experienced in the field: the then forty-eight-year-old College Board; the Carnegie Foundation, which had been administering graduate-achievement tests; and the American Council on Education, which had been examining candidate teachers as well as providing a wide variety of special tests for schools and colleges. The war—and the necessity of speeding

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

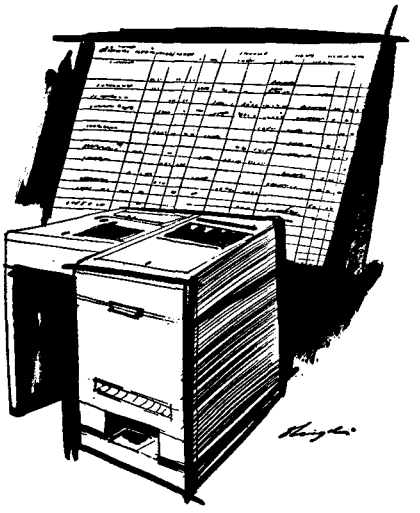
great numbers of young people through the educational process and getting them into uniform—had greatly expanded testing techniques, with the result that these groups now found their work mushrooming and overlapping. They decided to pool their resources.

Behind this merger lies a story of a revolution in educational theory—a revolution produced by the impact of numbers, democratic aspirations, and new testing tools. E.T.S., for its own part, says it is not wedded to any philosophy; it is merely the supplier of the tools. "We don't make educational policy. We just furnish the tests," Vice-President Sullivan told me. But if you provide the tests, don't you thereby also determine the teaching that will be done in preparation for these same tests?

E.T.S. says No—and this is perhaps the greatest revolution of all, for it amounts to an attempt to break off the relationship between the test on which your future may hang and the work you and your teachers have done to prepare for it. You can't prepare or "cram" for an objective test. It is designed to show the basic structure of your personality and skill; to X-ray you, as it were. The College Entrance Board goes along and says it has found that "the value of test-oriented courses is zero"—which is the very opposite of what it found during all the first forty years of its existence, when it virtually prescribed a curriculum to schools that served as "preps" for its member colleges.

But can an examination that is decisive in a young man's or woman's life be given without materially affecting all the work done before it? Frank D. Ashburn, headmaster of Brooks School in North Andover and a dissident member of the College Entrance Board, says the idea is nonsense. "If schools don't have to teach grammar, they won't teach grammar. . . . The schools will teach a lot of other things . . . but they won't teach such basic simplicities as require hard mental work if they don't have to."

There are other dissidents. Earle G. Eley of the University of Chicago, a champion of testing for actual writing ability, criticizes the objectivizers for achieving "precision in the measurement of human behavior by mechanizing the elements of that behavior." Arthur B. Darling of Phillips Academy at Andover lit into them when he remarked of their new Social Studies Test, ". . . all that the student needs . . . is a pencil, eraser, and a coin; the machines will do the rest. Offered a choice among four or five propositions that are cor-



rect, nearly correct, possibly wrong, or frankly absurd, the student may not have to resort to the coin. . . . His neuromuscular response hardly rises above a spinal ganglion."

Even President Chauncey sometimes is perplexed by the results of his work. "The schools really ought to develop writing abilities," he told me. "But they just don't believe it will improve their performance on objective tests." The man whose own organization devises those tests lapsed into silence.

BACK ABOUT 1800 if you were a young man ambitious to go to college, your best course was to present yourself at the doorstep of, say, President Timothy Dwight of Yale, who would receive you, steer you into his study, pull down a copy of Cicero from his bookshelf, have you translate part of an oration, and then, after sizing up your general bearing and religious beliefs, tell you whether or not he had a place for you in his classes.

A century later, growth had so institutionalized the private colleges and varied their admission demands that fifteen of the oldest of them banded together to set up the College Board as a central agency to test candidates—by whom they meant those from the private Eastern preparatory schools. All went well during the decades when these schools furnished their annual quotas of no more than several thousand specially trained and groomed young men to the Ivy League. But the nation's public-school system was generally left outside this arrangement, and public-school students were severely handicapped when facing the Board's rigorous tests. In the 1930's, the press of ambitious youth from public schools on one side and the Ivy League colleges' increasing doubts about the adequacy of past practice on the other led to a democratizing of admission methods that included—originally only in part—the simplified "check one" test. The intention was to evaluate talent impartially wherever it appeared by reducing the length and scope of examinations and to avoid penalizing or disqualifying the promising young man from Gopher Prairie High because his school hadn't given him all that Groton or Exeter could.

The assembly-line technique soon replaced what was left of handicraft. In 1942, the Board exams were reduced from one week to one day, and there they have remained ever since. The clients require speed and efficiency, and the technicians have the tools. Furthermore, the tools work. Subsequent tests by the same objective method applied to students in the first place yield a high "validity coefficient"—which is to say that the predictions of success set up by the machine testers at the start are confirmed by the same testers on a second run-through. (There is a certain "circularity" here, E.T.S. Vice-President Turnbull remarked to me, admitting that in such retesting there is a "built-in bias in our favor.")

But Can He Think?

Born of need and developed by ingenuity, the new techniques work so well, in fact, that one asks oneself just for whom they are actually now working. Are they still being contained as mere convenient instruments of the trade, or do they now threaten to take over and become determinants of adult American values in themselves?

Neither Gopher Prairie High nor

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Harvard, in a day when education has become a mass society within a larger mass society, can afford to do without such mechanical aids. The issue is not whether they should be used, but how far they should be used and up to what point they can be trusted.

Mechanization can become infectious. Even the Foreign Service, which is anything but a mass society, has felt the lure of the gadget in testing candidates for diplomatic careers. Up until 1946, bent on recruiting men with high linguistic skills, political knowledge, cultural acquaintance, and analytical ability, it required, in addition to an oral exam, a three-and-a-half-day written exercise, including essays in which the candidate was to discuss broad problems exhaustively. In the postwar recruiting rush, the written exercise was shortened to two and a half days, but the essay form was retained. Last year a special advisory committee headed by President Henry M. Wriston of Brown University declared that the Service's testing method was still "elaborate and costly," that it favored those with private means, and that it did not sufficiently recognize the need for specialists as against all-round "generalists." What was needed, the committee told Secretary Dulles, was a nationwide "shorter and accelerated examination program." So this June the Service went the whole way and reduced its written exams to a one-day true-false quiz supplied by E.T.S. The test includes a section on "English Expression" in which the future diplomat writes nary a word.

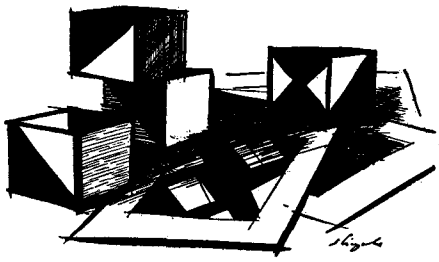
IT MAY BE that this technique, well adapted to sampling mental make-up and at getting quick answers to stated alternatives, will produce more "reliable" ambassadors than we had before. Will it also produce ambassadors or anyone else who have the equipment to think for themselves, express themselves, explore other alternatives than those set before them, and deal with ideas of which not one but several may be valid? The tests of the eager young psychologists at Princeton, now subscribed to as a technological wonder across the land, measure many qualities, but they leave at least a few things out.

The Wastelands Revisited

WILLIAM LEE MILLER

SCHOOL PEOPLE have to put up with a lot, not only from the kids, who must be bad enough, but also from the grown-ups, who probably are worse. Pummeled, pressured, and advised from every side, still bearing the wounds inflicted by super-patriots, super-religionists, super-taxpayers, and super-superintendents, the educators now have to deal with yet another attack from Arthur E. Bestor, Jr.

Bestor, a professor of history at the University of Illinois, is the most



powerful spokesman for those who say the prevailing educational philosophies are "anti-intellectual." A few years ago he assaulted those philosophies with some blunt articles carrying pointed titles like "Aimlessness in Education." From these articles came a book called *Educational Wastelands,* the content of which, like the title, was not exactly friendly to prevailing educational trends. Now Bestor has opened fire again with a hefty and more or less definitive sequel, *The Restoration of Learning.* It may not restore learning, but it ought to keep the educational journals steaming through the winter.

The "Wastelands" are the American public high schools and grade schools. The culprits Bestor pursues are the "educationists" who, he says, have desolated that territory with undemocratic, noneducational, and anti-intellectual substitutes for education. The "educationists'" crew are not the classroom teachers, according to Bestor, but rather some school administrators and educational bureaucrats. The ringleaders are professors of education, those who teach how to teach. From their hideouts in the teachers' colleges and departments of education, he says, they exercise an almost unchallenged control over the American public-school system, devising its curricula, using the state to enforce their ideas of teacher training, and intimidating opposition. They arrange the certification requirements for teachers so that anyone who wants to teach has to take piles of their education courses. They insist that the prospective teacher be trained more in how to teach than in any subject he might teach—if he is lucky enough to teach anything as old-fashioned as a subject.

Some of those educators, in cases cited by Bestor, have even specifically discouraged bright students from entering teaching, since such people tend to get interested in their material (terrible thing) and to lack patience with slow pupils. The educationists do not subject each other's positions to genuine mutual criticism, as do members of the scholarly disciplines, but rather join in ritual support for prevailing clichés. Bestor, in his latest book, allows for some few mavericks in their camp. But most of them attack anyone who (like Bestor) disagrees with them as an "enemy of the public schools" or, at best, a naïve amateur. In their outlook people are either for or against the public-school system, and to be for the schools means to support their particular program for the schools.

Some Bestor Beliefs

That program, he says, is drawn up by men who have cut themselves off from the scholarly world and have no respect for it. "Education" has become a separate field, with its own departments and colleges, its own special jargon, and its own program

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for not overburdening children in our schools. Isolated from any genuine intellectual inheritance, its leaders are available for the latest fad. "Education for a changing world" is one cliché. But, says Bestor, there is nothing more useless in a *really* changing world than the excessive contemporariness of these educators, since what is contemporary today is gone tomorrow. Better the continually relevant and dependably powerful tools of a genuine training in language and science and history.

"Integration" is another cliché, and it helps account for those "core" courses which telescope a number of subjects under headings like "Common Learnings" and "Family Living." But, says Bestor, you have to have something solid to integrate before it makes any sense. In their passion for what is immediately "practical," the educationists have moved narrow vocational training into the heart of the high-school curriculum, claiming to meet the "real-life needs" of students, but actually short-changing them by denying them the *truly* practical, because more broadly applicable and powerful, training in disciplines of the mind. "We don't teach history, we teach children," is one old slogan of these educational theories. But all right, if one is really going to teach children, one has to teach them *something*. These educators say they deal with the "whole child," but surely that shouldn't mean that the schools can't deal with separate things thoroughly and systematically. "When I dine," says Bestor, "I am interested in the 'whole' meal. But I certainly do not expect the soup, the meat, the salad, and the ice cream to be stirred up together. . . ."

Bestor even implies that we may lack classrooms and be short of teachers partly because modern educational philosophies are so thin. People may not give money to schools because they think they are becoming thirteen-year kindergartens, and men may avoid teaching because they fear being turned into "glorified baby sitters."

Other Nasty Writers

Bestor is not alone in making his charges against the hard-pressed educators. Many ordinary citizens are wondering whether the schools are

teaching Johnny to read, whether the schools are teaching Johnny to write, whether the schools are teaching Johnny much of anything. Education people reply, "We teach him to be a good citizen in a good society. We meet his physical, social, and vocational needs. We aim at the free unfolding of the emotional nature of every human being. We teach social unfolding and getting along with others. We deal with the whole child." But somehow this doesn't seem to replace the desire of some pesky parents and citizens for more reading and grammar and history and math.

Also, there are some writers who ride in the posse with Bestor, and everybody knows how nasty writers can be. They keep writing articles that add fuel to the fire under the harassed schoolmen. In their stuff one can find listed some of the colorful results of the--as they see it--drab philosophies Bestor criticizes. Howard Whitman toured the country's schools for *Collier's* and reported "biology" tests solely concerned with football plays, a girl who spent most of two grades taking care of a donkey her progressive school had purchased, and parents who referred contemptuously to their children's courses as "Concentrated Beanbag" and "Advanced Sandpile."

William H. Whyte, Jr., of *Fortune* examined intensively one supposedly outstanding high school and found that "co-operating with the group" rated higher than intellectual training, and discovered items like a course in "unified studies" that conveniently could be counted either as history or as English for college entrance.

Albert Lynd wrote a book called *Quackery in the Public Schools,* and Mortimer Smith wrote one called *The Diminished Mind: A Study of Planned Mediocrity in Our Public Schools.* In both cases the titles indicate rather plainly what these laymen think of some of the modern education they have examined. Incidentally, Lynd seems particularly taken with a course called "Progress in Democratic Smoke Abatement," while Smith's favorite horror is a full course in a Midwestern high school devoted to "Orientation to the School Building."

THE BRUISED educators have responded to these attacks from Bestor & Co. with their own barrage of articles ranging in tone from highly indignant to merely exasperated. The man who has never had an education course, reading these responses to find some answers to Bestor, discovers at once that the education field is not quite as uniform as Bestor had led him to believe. But it is still not easy to find convincing answers to him.

Many of the reviews of his first book referred to the new findings of research, which are supposed to justify modern educational practice. For example, one reviewer says that Bestor disregards the "new findings" in "experimental psychology, developmental psychology, social psychology, depth psychology, and mental hygiene." No doubt the "literary-minded critics," as an educator called them, don't know all

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they should about the results of these studies, and perhaps part of our discomfiture with modern education does spring from ignorance. But not the major part. The struggle is mostly not about data but about values. Research may discover new data about the *context* of learning, but it cannot refute the notion that some learning ought to take place. The same reviewer who listed all those psychologies admits that, presumably as a result of these hot findings, "Some modern educators have been so impressed with the emotional, physical, or vocational concerns of students that they may sometimes talk or act as though the intellectual, no matter how defined, is no longer very important in the schools. . . ."

The reviewer goes on to say that's too bad, but he's mighty calm, it seems to me, about the horrendous admission he has made. In that calmness is reflected the difference in values. Surely those psychologies have not come upon some esoteric knowledge, unknown to the learned world, which would justify abandoning the careful development of the ability to think. If that is the direction in which these findings lead, they really seem more like losings.

The defense of the educators regularly cites studies—"over 275 studies," one says—that are said to show that in the fundamental skills pupils today do as well as or better than the pupils of Grandma's day. But Bestor's answer to that seems hard to get around. Even after compensating for the effects of inflation on the dollar, we are spending seven times as much per pupil as we spent in 1870, three times as much as in 1910. And all we get for it are results that are about as good as they were then. I also noticed, in poking around in educational questions, that when buildings or facilities are discussed, the standard for educators is certainly not drawn from fifty years ago but is the absolutely ideal possibility for the future: "Our children deserve the very best schools we can build." But when the *content* in those same schools is discussed, the standard shifts to the past and the argument goes over to the defensive: "We're doing O.K. We're doing as well as they used to do." It all depends, perhaps, on what is regarded as important.

Life Adjustment

The reluctant conclusion of all this is that though Bestor may overstate the danger of modern trends and though he certainly overstates the eagerness of the public for something more solid, he nevertheless is hard to refute. At least, someone who agrees with his basic judgment about the importance of intellectual training finds him hard to refute. With regret one must say that his criticism, though possibly too polemically stated, seems nevertheless to be one that some of the exposed and hard-pressed educators had coming to them. That's the way it seems to one non-educationist chosen at random: me. I read Bestor and

was impressed. I read some education literature and was appalled.

For example, I don't really grasp the full meaning of "the functionalization and democratization of education." Whatever it means, I am a little unsettled by it. The phrase occurs in an official educational booklet called "Vitalizing Secondary Education," and that title sounds like something to be unsettled by, too. It especially sounded that way after I read the booklet and found out what this "vitalizing" does to poor defenseless little secondary education. It vitalizes it to death.

The phrase describes an educational movement that has been the subject of outraged scrutiny by Bestor and others, and one can see why. In its lexicon, "academic" and "bookish" are sort of cuss words, which understandably makes us academic and bookish types a little nervous. The writers of that "Vitalizing" booklet want high schools to be "free of college domination." The "doctrine of mental discipline" is resolutely set aside, and the "early classrooms," where it is presumed that the teacher knew more than the students, are described as "dictatorships." In place of all that old stuff they are now going to "democratize" the process of learning (everything, but everything, gets democratized by these people). This means, apparently, the dropping of "subject matter" (another bad word) in favor of "education through real life situations."

The meaning of this term is not easy to fathom, but it plainly does not mean what we would regard as serious academic work. It is plainly intended to make its products plenty adjusted and plenty functionalized. The life-adjusted graduates of this training may not know much, but, by golly, they ought to be able to function like nobody's business.

The "life-adjustment" movement that flowered in this booklet is the epitome of all that Bestor opposes. The resolution with which it began said that the high schools, training twenty per cent of American youth for college and preparing another twenty per cent for "desirable skilled occupations," should give the remaining sixty per cent the "life-adjustment training they need." Intellectual training only for the college types (who apparently can be picked beforehand), vocational skills for another fifth, and something else, to "adjust" them to a thought-free "life," for the rest. To Bestor and to this writer, that program is democracy stood on its head: not opening out and raising the standards for every man, but rather reducing standards to the predicted future of the mass.

Some educators say that this movement, which began in 1945, is now on the wane. Also, they say it always was more fully represented in booklets and in resolutions than in schools, and that it did not represent the best, or even perhaps the major part, of current educational thought. But it was an official program of the U.S. Office of Education, it was endorsed by major leaders in education, and it must represent, though perhaps at their worst and in the extreme, many of the important themes that appear elsewhere in modern education. Therefore, those

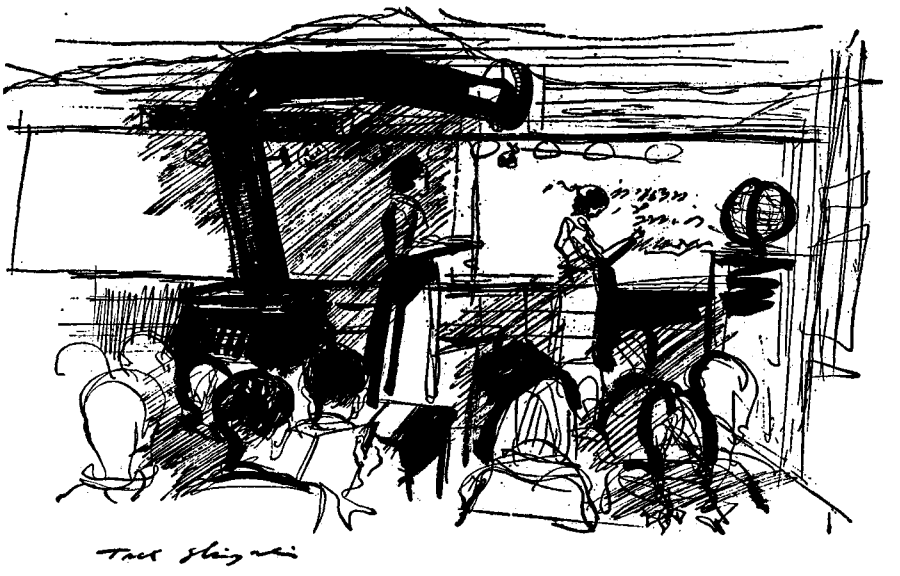
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of us who are not much taken with vitalizing and functionalizing can only be glad that Bestor and others have lit into it.

The Layman's Viewpoint

But perhaps there is part of an answer to us critics—better than those that appear in the educators' reviews—in the social and economic conditions they face. Those of us who are safely on the sidelines can't know all the pressures on the men who must actually do the day-to-day work of administering our gigantic school system. We don't know what it's like to try to accommodate the swarming multitudes of new school kids, and keep them off the streets and off the labor market, and raise money for the new buildings we need, and find new teachers, and ward off the cranks who poke at the schools, and satisfy school boards and politicians, and protect the public-school system from the few who really don't believe in it, and show that the schools aren't "Godless" without offending the atheists, and fit together Puerto Ricans and old Yankees and Negroes and Southerners and cultured and uncultured and Jews and Catholics and rich and poor and bright kids and dopes into one school system, and keep all hell from breaking loose with the delinquents, and perform myriad health and civic functions that the community thrusts onto the schools, and then find these blamed intellectuals pounding on us to teach more history and English.

It's true we laymen don't really know what it feels like to be in that spot. We have never, so to speak, met an educational payroll. Also, there may be some nuances behind the educational jargon which, never having had education courses, we don't understand. Therefore, our untutored judgments do need to be checked and corrected by those with greater knowledge and experience of the problems. But that does not excuse us from making the judgments. We can and should decide about priorities and values, about the purpose and direction of the schools. In fact, not being caught up in the terrific crush—and also, one is tempted to say, the terrific cant—of the education game, we might even be able to see some few things more clearly,



such as that values of great importance to us have been discounted.

Stephen Leacock once wrote about his long years of experience in banking—as a depositor. Maybe the depositors, in many fields, can see and feel something that the bankers, partly because they are experts, don't know. Here's what one of the recent products, or victims, of modern education wrote not long ago about his training in a model Western high school:

"They did require of all sophomores that they take a course called General Education, which was, I'm afraid, so general that the individual teacher sort of chatted with us about anything he was interested in. . . . Health education was another required course which was taught by the football coach and consisted of talking a little about hygiene, cutting remedy ads out of the paper for a scrapbook, and much about the team's chances for the next Saturday . . . it seems a sad thing to me that I could have graduated from high school without knowing any history, or taking any language (except my one half-hearted year of Latin), or reading any of the great literature, or having to express ideas or really do any thinking. . . . Most of the people [from that school] are baffled by an essay test—some of [them], I know, have never taken any kind of test except a 'true or false' or 'check one of three.' . . . I do feel that high school for me was, for the most part, a waste of time. It seems that the whole focus was on getting along with your friends and being a good guy, coupled with learning practical things—like Boys' Cooking and Leathercraft—rather than the less exciting business of learning how to study or how to think. If a thing isn't fun, it isn't good, and since we could all pretty much choose what we wanted, most of us had a good time."

Lack of Focus

I suggest two judgments that the nonexpert who expects a bit more than a good time from the schools can make about Bestor's argument. One can agree with him on his central evaluation: The schools ought primarily to train the mind. The *priority* ought to be on developing powers of analysis and discipline and imagination, powers of the intellect. For all the fierce attacks and flying fur, Bestor is really making this positive point. In the new book he even presents a comprehensive and positive program for revising our whole school system along with his plans to revise teacher training and certification. These programs may have a bit of the Utopian flavor of most comprehensive reforms struck off by one man at his desk, but Bestor shows that he is not just a negative critic by working out in concrete detail a plan for the kind of education he is fighting for.

His real positive point lies behind both these elaborate programs and his negative attack on the educationists. It is in his clear and consistent focus on the ideal of the disciplined

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

intelligence. Some educators say to this, "Shucks then, what's all the shouting about? We're all for training minds, too." But as Bestor points out, and as some educators' reviews of his books inadvertently demonstrate, they do not hold this as the clear priority. They present long lists of objectives for the schools or needs of students or problems of high-school youth. These may jumble together a good many things both trivial and important, and include, somewhere along with improving one's appearance and developing wholesome boy-girl relations, the disciplining of the mind. The indiscriminateness is a large part of the problem. Many seem to say that whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are of good report, the school should do these things.

The result, as Bestor and others have described it, may be to allow the school to deal with the easy and immediate and practical matters and neglect its difficult and important work. Schools with blurred focus may then take on many social and child-training functions, even to the point of confusing their role with that of the home. A parent in Los Angeles told Mortimer Smith, "We used to take Mary to the zoo, and the school taught her arithmetic. Now we teach her arithmetic and the school takes her to the zoo."

BESTOR explains most cogently what he means by the intellectual role of the school. It does not mean, as the caricatures by some educationists have tried to say it does, the memorizing of the inert facts. The so-called "subject-matter fields" are not mere collections of facts but powerful tools, "disciplines" that have proved their superior power in use. Some educationists say that those new findings of research have proved that no subject is any better than any other for training the mind, but surely they would have to exclude those in which the mind isn't used much. Surely mathematics and language and logic and history are better at it than Boys' Cooking.

It is important for children to learn social sensitivity and emotional maturity and physical fitness and good grooming. The school should pay attention to such worthy aims. But they should not be allowed to supplant or subordinate the *primary* task of the school, intellectual training. If the school doesn't impart that, who will?

The home, the community, the church, and business are all, like the school, concerned in a sense with the

"whole" child or person. But each has its special role to play. And the school's is primarily to train the mind.

'Regressive Education'

To say this is not to be solely concerned for the intellectuals or the gifted few. The persistence of this line of attack on Bestor is evidence that some of the things Bestor says about his educationist opponents may be true. To imply that only intellectuals are interested in intellectual training or deserve it is a revealing mistake. The schools should be concerned not with intellectuals but with the intellect; they should strive to train minds—not just brilliant ones, but all minds.

Of course that isn't easy, and of course the training doesn't penetrate far with some slow learners, and of course those of us who aren't teaching can talk more blithely about it than those who actually have to face the kids, but that doesn't change the goal. This, as Bestor says, remains the fullest possible training in systematic thought for everybody. This is the purpose of the schools and the true meaning of universal public education.

Bestor cannot be dismissed as just another old fogy who wants Latin taught the way his grandfather learned it. He is not attacking all progressive education. He himself went to the early-model progressive high school, Columbia Teachers' College's Lincoln School, and he's glad he did. Progressive education, on the right track as long as it was developing new and livelier means for teaching serious thought, got off the track, he says, and turned into "regressive education" when its methods took over and debilitated the *content* of education, turning the school into something resembling a playroom. Whether the teaching methods are traditional or progressive, there must be some *teaching*.

NEITHER is Bestor a follower of some old, unpleasant philosophies that aren't "modern" enough for our time. (Education literature seems to be strong on being "modern.") One reply to Bestor said he "accepts a traditional rationalistic concept of the intellect akin to that of Aristotle and ignores all of modern times." But surely it is not to accept a rationalistic concept akin to that of Aristotle to prefer courses in English to those in "Orientation to the School Building." Bestor speaks not so much for any particular intellectual tradition, whether of Aristotle, Plato, or John Dewey, as for the whole intellectual heritage, including that of Dewey, against the "anti-intellectual" trends he discovers in modern education.

Nor are Bestor & Co. social conservatives necessarily. Perhaps the schools should not uphold a rigid tradition, as some pressure groups seem to want, or "build a new social order," as many educators seem to think they should. Rather they should develop the powers of intelligent discrimination by which individual men, in ways that we cannot predict, will select what is to be preserved from the past and decide about reforms for the future.

What 'the People' Want

But one objection can be taken to Bestor's position. He implies, and occasionally even says, that the people (you know, "the people") have regularly supported his kind of education. Therefore, since the public

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is innocent, the educationists must bear all the guilt, and Bestor heaps it on them. They emerge in his books as double-dyed villains, forcing their watered stock onto a victimized populace. The demons in the thought of one side, the "enemies of the public schools," are almost matched by the demons on the other side, the "interlocking directorate of educationists."

But surely these educationists are not as unique, or as bad, as Bestor paints them. If, as he charges, they have let the schools share a bit in anti-intellectual currents, still they did not invent those currents. Their "educationism" did not spring, like some strange anti-Minerva, full accoutered from the brow (or whatever it would be) of whoever-it-was (schools were rather modern in my time, too). The new educators came from this public and this culture, bringing their theories behind them.

Writings about the schools always point out that "the people" wanted much of the stuff for which, perversely, others of "the people" now criticize the educators. Safety folks asked that drivers' courses be given; businessmen wanted the schools to arrange useful vocational training; fishermen suggested fly-casting practice, which turns into a course in applied ichthyology; and plenty of other-directed mommas wanted schools to teach Johnny to get along good, and never mind the grammar.

But "the people" help make our educational theory in a deeper sense. Nobody had to force Americans to want what is "practical." No intimidation was needed to get them to look for what is called new, modern, contemporary, and progressive. No educationists had to interlock in any directorate to make the American public a bit suspicious of fancy thinkers who are so busy readin' all them books that they don't even know where to find the carburetor. No "power politics" by the education fraternity was necessary to bring to the top the know-how boys, with their "techniques" and "methods," their laboratories and workshops. This is the American inclination.

Technological proficiency and popular democracy combine to make us a nation that believes in know-how, methods, and results. Maybe they also, now and then, leave us somewhat unaware of the price and effort involved in intellectual attainment, and the distinction between that attainment and its counterfeit, especially in our crowded and hasty moods. And the crowded and hasty moods dominate many big, obvious, and powerful American influences like television, advertising, "How-To" literature, and certain phases of politics. Why should we be surprised that some of the same "practical" and "democratizing" themes turn up around the edges of our educational system? It too is a mass enterprise.

The schools, serving the whole

public and inundated with floods of kids they have to take, are under some of the same pressures of number and speed and the desire for tangible results and immediate returns that mark other parts of our society. The philosophies by which these schools are guided, as they are applied not by philosophers but by the administrators and technicians drawn from this society who must keep the school system going, will tend under pressure to become thinner and more pragmatic and immediate. Perhaps the answer to that lies not in the denunciation of the educationists in which Bestor and others, including this writer, have engaged, but rather in the more vigorous and resolute effort to make the qualities important to us have a more lively position in the society. Happily, Bestor is also engaged in that.

He is trying to reinvigorate in education the best of the American democratic and pragmatic intellectual heritage—the heritage from which, maybe in reduced form, the theories of education also are drawn. It is interesting that even Bestor, arguing against the directly "practical" stuff, does not rest his case on any pure and intrinsic worth of cultural and intellectual disciplines for their own sakes; he defends them rather as being really more practical than their supposedly practical substitutes. He is an American, too.

Attainment *and* Inclusiveness

Just because Bestor is wrong about "the people," he's right about the emphasis to make in the schools. Because the American society *won't* automatically support an intellectual education, it is especially important for those who see its value to fight for it.

Bestor admits that liberal-arts professors and other intellectuals bear some of the responsibility for the isolation and desolation of the wastelands. Perhaps he doesn't confess it frankly enough; he seems to place the blame for the separation of the education world from the scholars and scientists almost solely on the former; perhaps the blame is more evenly distributed. But he does propose programs by which the scholarly and scientific world may try to retake some responsibility for the lower schools. That's a hopeful sign, which may show that better side of American democracy not always apparent to observers. This better side is the continual thrust of free men to combine inclusiveness with real attainment.

Perhaps the life adjusters, as Bestor claims, have dropped the ideal of real attainment. Some highbrows on the opposite side may drop the inclusiveness, saying: "Why teach every kid when most of them will just use the training to read comic books anyway?" But the trick is to combine the two.

Maybe the schools have necessarily been so preoccupied with including every child that they have lessened, a bit, the drive to real educational quality. Perhaps it's now time to shift the emphasis.

As to what values should be fought for now, look at it this way: Given the dominant pressures of our society, what is it our schools are most likely to overlook? It isn't the practical side. It is the intellectual values that need all the defenders they can get.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Incredible Mayor Of Florence

SOPHIA PODOLSKY

When Giorgio La Pira first presented himself at the University of Florence where he had been named professor of Roman law, the attendant who opened the door to him greeted him with these words: "Ho there, freshman! How is it that you come to school in white socks and sandals?" La Pira looked down at his monkish sandals and said with great serenity: "It is in sandals that I hope I may enter paradise."

Now, almost three decades later, Giorgio La Pira is mayor of Florence. Unlike most politicians, American or Italian, he is still headed for paradise. But he does not want to go alone; he wants to take with him the most poverty-stricken of the Florentine poor. Each Sunday you can see throngs of them at the Badia and the Church of the Apostles, attending Mass with La Pira. They have come to fetch bread the Church has blessed and to keep a date with his honor the mayor.

Every Sunday when Mass is over, La Pira slips out from the sacristy and stands on the steps leading to the altar. Hemmed in by his most esteemed friends, the crippled and the blind, the prostitutes and the paupers, he makes his report. This is no sermon but a summing up of his thoughts and activities. He talks with vigor and simplicity, he smiles, he laughs, and he and the poor say the "Hail Mary" together. Afterward he mingles with the congregation and, assisted by a crew of his followers, counsels and consoles.

The Discourse

Here are some of the things Il Signor Professore, as La Pira is called, tells his friends as he stands at the altar steps:

"It is not possible to give a house to everybody, but I will try at least to put a roof over every head. It is not possible right now to provide steady work for all, but I will try to arrange a temporary job. To help you I have gone against the law—or so they say! They also say that I am a 'White Communist.' Believe me, I am nothing of the kind. I am a Christian. At least I try to be. And some there are who say I am a badly formed character. I cannot help it. I am made like that.

"Now if I were to do what I really wanted, I would give up this job of mayor and go to the monastery at Camaldoli to study and pray. Ah! but that would be too easy. I feel it my duty to help you, and for that reason I would even go against the law. Ave Maria, full of grace . . ." The thin voices of the gray faces filling the Badia swell into prayer with him.

With scarcely a pause for the amen, he continues: "Tomorrow is the first Monday of the month, a day dedicated to prayer. To pray is not an easy thing. It is not hard to be a mayor, or a minister, or a king—or even a president! But it is very difficult to pray. Come tomorrow at three o'clock and we will pray together.

"As a matter of fact, in Italy there is a saint or someone to honor each day of the week. On Tuesday there is a woman saint, a Roman martyr, I think. Then there is a very important person to remember on Sunday. Very important. His name is Tommaso d'Aquino, patron of schools and theologians. Important, my friends, because of his intelligence. He wrote a thick, heavy volume, big as this, and so thick. Take my word, Tommaso is a very important fellow, for he represents the mind of the Church. Ave Maria . . ." Again the church throbs with prayer.

"This sweet Florence of ours is a real jewel of civilization. Visitors from everywhere come to see it. It is not necessary to list the names of the artists, thinkers, scientists, and saints who were born and raised in Florence. It is enough to say that here lived all the men who made Florence the purest fountain of art and thought and religious ecstasy.

"In memory of Michelangelo and the other great men of Florence, let us say a Requiem Aeternam."

After the Requiem he continues: "Have you seen in the past week that there have been many important international gatherings? Pray to the Madonna for the success of these meetings. The Madonna is like a hen. Do you know why? A hen spreads her wings like this, and protects and embraces all of her small ones. In such a way does the Madonna protect us; but it is necessary to pray. Ave Maria . . . now and at the hour of our death.

"Now," says La Pira, "If you have any letters or requests, let me have them."

The Requests

As he walks down the aisles and into the cloister, and finally out on the sidewalk of the Via del Proconsolo, the whole congregation wraps itself around him and bombards him with demands. This is the one time in the week when the poor can approach their mayor, and they don't pull their punches. Neither does La Pira.

"Signor Professore, our child is in an institution. We want him home." La Pira makes a note on the back of an envelope.

"Signor Professore, we must have an apartment, not just a room. Our daughter is of an age now . . ."

"Say, Signor Professore, how long must I sleep on Arno's banks? I want a bed and a roof."

"I need a job, Professore, a steady job."

By now La Pira has pushed his way to the door of the church and is standing in front of Filippino Lippi's "Madonna Appearing to St. Bernard," taking notes and talking with the young man who wants a steady job. A voice interrupts.

"Be silent," flares the mayor. "One at a time."

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"But Signor Professore . . ."

La Pira wheels around, and sees that it is a blind man. He puts his arms around the man's shoulders and says: "Hello there! have you had your coffee yet?" "Not yet," smiles the blind man. La Pira digs into his pocket and pulls out a crumpled note. "Buy yourself a *good* coffee." Then he turns to the young man: "*Coraggio, coraggio.* The Madonna will think of you." He waves at Filippino's Madonna and elbows his way through the cloister where the loaves are being distributed. At last he is in the street, standing opposite the Bargello, one of the most imposing and formidable palaces in the history of the Florentine Republic.

"A house!" someone persists, pulling at the mayor's sleeve. "My family needs a house."

"I tell you I will try my best. If I could convert the Bargello into apartments, I would give you one."

The man grabs La Pira's hand and tries to kiss it. La Pira pulls it away. "I don't want my hand kissed!" he shouts. "There! I have done it," beams the man. La Pira wrenches himself free and makes a hasty retreat to the Palazzo Vecchio, the city hall of Florence.

Reporting to God

Florentines roll their eyes and call him a saint. They smile and say: "A saint in these unsaintly times!"

"An enchanting little man, incredibly good, but much too candid for the job"—a journalist. "An extremist"—a countess. "A virgin"—a Florentine playboy.

"He may be holy, but he's mad, completely mad; madder than Savonarola"—a landowner.

"Too good for this world. He should be shot into paradise, and the doors locked behind him"—a lawyer.

"What beautiful things our little professor does for the poor"—the maid in an American *pensione.*

"He may be mad but he uses his madness to get what he wants"—a puzzled politician.

"This apprentice angel keeps his wings folded and steps on us all the time"—a businessman.

But La Pira couldn't care less about what people say or think. The only thing that concerns him is his daily report to God.

Piero Bargellini, a member of the city council, recalls a morning session in which the mayor was standing in front of his washbasin struggling with his intractable whiskers. Bargellini was saying that he was fed up with administrative red tape and polemics about the budget, that a writer should have other crosses to bear. La Pira, his face mottled with soap, put down his razor and turned on him:

"And do you think *I* enjoy being a bureaucrat? Do you think it has not occurred to *me* to pull out and return to San Marco or Camaldoli? But this, my dear Bargellini, is the price we must pay for the privilege

of doing good. If I had not been made mayor I would not be able to provide work for the unemployed, milk for the children, shelter for the old. And you, if you were not in charge of fine arts, would not be able to do what you do for art, for schools, for gardens."

Bargellini mumbled something about his vocation drying up. La Pira interrupted him: "Vocation! Vocation! When we are in front of Il Signore, do you know what He will say? 'Ho there, little man' (La Pira crouched and made himself even smaller), 'step right this way. One day I arranged things in the world in such a fashion as to make you mayor of a city. Account to me a bit: To how many families have you given a roof? To how many men have you given work? To how many children have you given schooling?' My dear Bargellini, He will not ask how many speeches I have made, or how many books you have written."

This is La Pira—completely without ambition or pride, selfless and guileless. His existence is summed up in doing good for others, then leaving the rest up to God.

"Sow the seeds of good," he says, "then call on Il Signore to germinate them in His grace. Leave it to Him. He knows how. It is not for us to worry about results."

As long as La Pira can do each day an act of charity and make his report to God, he is at peace with himself. This is his strength. It makes him immune to the barbs, the name-calling, and the derision heaped on him by his critics.

'Money Finds Itself'

It is this overpowering faith and compassion that make it hard to resist La Pira and impossible to repress him. You may question his tactics but never his motives. You may even feel sorry for him, knowing that there are too many dragons for one small Giorgio to tackle. But he's not counting; he just takes them on as they come, the way he took on poverty that day long before he was mayor when he appeared at the public flophouse and issued an invitation to a special Mass where loaves of bread would be blessed and distributed, where someone would listen to the poor and try to help. The loaves are still being blessed and distributed; and after Mass he still reports on what he has been doing and what he has it in his soul to do.

There are many things he wants to do. He would like a house and a job for everyone, and warm milk for early-morning workers arriving in the station, and free concerts in the public square. He would like to see a canary in each living room . . . "for the song of this simple, sweet bird rests the mind and disposes the heart to goodness."

With complete equanimity he convokes an assembly for peace and Christian civilization and invites to it men of good will, be they Christians, Moslems, or Jews. Last year the assembly had as its theme "Culture and Revelation—the seed of man and the dew-bathed light of God." This year the agenda included the peaceful use of atomic energy and aid for underdeveloped countries. In his letter of invitation to the consular corps, La Pira quoted St. Matthew: "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that pro-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ceedeth out of the mouth of God."

It is man's welfare, spiritual and material, that concerns the mayor of Florence—not the mundane details of balancing the city's budget. Not that he does not understand budgets. He does, he says. He has an accountant's diploma and ten years' juggling with figures to prove it.

He is impatient with people who complain about lack of funds. They have no imagination, he says. *Poca fantasia.* Money finds itself, he says. And finds itself it does—somehow, from somewhere. He puts his faith in the Madonna.

This system of coping with the budget is enormously embarrassing to the commune's treasurer, who finds himself limited to what he can pull out of the commune's coffers. These coffers may be empty, but La Pira flashes his happy smile, weaves a fantasy of arabesques with his fingers, and chants: "We must spend, spend, spend—for houses, for milk, for music, for flowers and, with a soul turned to God, for the joy of living." Spend he does, except on himself. The salary he earns as professor at the university and what he receives for being mayor (the sum of $97 monthly) never reaches his pocket. It goes to the poor.

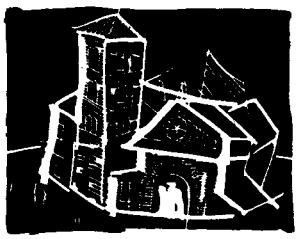
In Florence it is said he has only one coat, and that coat he gives to a beggar. The legend grows, as legends do, and each day it is said he gives his coat away. Florentines, who take their saints with a grain of salt, especially foreign ones—La Pira is Sicilian—laugh and say: "But how well stocked La Pira's wardrobe must be!"

'Pazzo di Dio'

Ever since La Pira arrived from Sicily at the age of twenty-two, wearing the white socks that mark him as a follower of the Dominicans, his antics have baffled Florentines.

"Il Pazzo di Dio" (crazy one of God), as he is called, was born in the town of Pozzallo fifty-two years ago. His uncle Occhipinti ("Painted Eyes") brought him to Messina where he ran errands by day and worked for an accountant's diploma at night. After accounting he turned to law. At twenty-six, La Pira was lecturing on Roman law in Florence.

In addition to teaching and writing articles, he joined the Saint Vincent de Paul society, dedicated to visiting the poor in their homes. He discovered it was not enough to visit the poor in their homes. There were some poor who had no homes; only the fetid alleys that tourists hardly know exist yet almost come upon



when they visit Santo Spirito and Santa Maria del Carmine.

For ten years La Pira lived in a cell at San Marco, close to that other one occupied by Savonarola, whom the "angry ones" dragged off to Palazzo Vecchio where he was tortured, then hanged and burned in the public square. Since 1945, when a doctor discovered La Pira was dying of starvation, he has lived on the top floor of a clinic directed by one of his Sicilian friends. He attends early Mass at San Marco, then returns to his room for breakfast. Afterward he is driven to the Palazzo Vecchio, where, with a break for lunch and a short rest, he works until after ten.

La Pira belongs to a lay order of Dominicans (Terziario Dominicano), has taken the vows of that order, and still maintains silence at breakfast, a habit acquired when he lived among the monks at San Marco. It is said that he was not always the pillar of the Church he is today. It is even said that before he came to Florence he was an unbeliever. Why or when the conversion occurred, no one seems to know. He describes his feelings for his fellow men as a gift that God gives, and says that it came to him gradually. He did not want to be mayor but gladly accepted the chance as an opportunity to help the poor.

During the war, La Pira distinguished himself as a fearless anti-Fascist. He had the nerve to present a religious medal to one of Mussolini's officials who was threatening him for his stand against racial discrimination. "This should be of service to you," he said to Il Duce's agent as he pinned the medal on his black shirt. When the Germans occupied Florence in 1943, the Fascists came knocking at San Marco, but La Pira had already gone to Rome. Three days after the liberation of Florence he came bouncing back into town, through the Roman Gate, across the Ponte Vecchio, riding on top of a truckload of Vatican flour. The poor people's Mass was ready to be set up again.

GRADUALLY La Pira emerged as a national figure. In 1946 he was elected to the Constituent Assembly in Rome as a Christian Democrat. (La Pira claims that his name is not included in the books of any political party, that he is recorded only in the baptismal registry.) Later, in 1948, he became Under-Secretary of Labor.

In June, 1951, La Pira won a hard election over the Moscow-schooled Fabiani and replaced him as mayor of Florence. Florence had been a Red city for four and a half years, and the outcome of the election was as big a surprise to La Pira as it was to his opponent. So sure had the Communists been of the results of the ballot that the Russian ballerina Ulyanova, who had come to Florence to participate in the May musical festival, dallied until June to perform a victory *entrechat* for Fabiani.

The Workers of Pignone

One can see why Florentines are baffled. La Pira works like a dog, shrugs at the law—and when he is not working or sleeping, he is praying. He says that he owes to Providence whatever good he may have done. But Providence is not entirely responsible for the hold he has on Florence. Faith and love and bread play a part; but equally important is that here is a man who, probably because he is so foreign to them, has captured the imagination of the Florentines. Almost against their will they have yielded to the volcanic Sicilian.

How well he understands the spirit of the age-old charity of Florence! Those Della Robbia infants that decorate the Foundling Hospital come alive when you read his Christmas letter to the orphans:

"DEAR CHILDREN:

How often I think of you! And when I pray, the softest and sweet-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

est prayer is for you who still carry in your heart and in your eyes the grace, the smile, and the innocence of God.

"You are the most precious part of our city—for you are the hope, you are the future, you are the dawn. You will be the heads of the new Florentine families, the *babbi e mamme.*

"What joy you must feel when you think of the responsibility that is yours: to be the trustee of the most glorious city in the world. . . .

"Happy holiday, dear children. Remember in this season of joy others who are more needy than you, and all those who suffer—the sick, the unemployed, the imprisoned. Remember especially those families of Pignone, and pray for all.

Your Mayor,
LA PIRA

The allusion to the families of Pignone recalls one of the most controversial episodes in La Pira's career. Pignone is the oldest metallurgical factory in Florence. During the war, it was busy enough producing armament, but reconversion to peacetime production proved very difficult. Business lagged; costs rose; the stockholders decided to close the works. Two thousand workers received their dismissal notices, but they refused to leave the factory. The day the notice was posted, La Pira rushed to Rome to persuade the government to take over the plant.

For two and a half months the strike dragged on, and all Italy was caught in the controversy. The city council voted to distribute two million lire among the strikers' families. Florentines hurried to the scene with spaghetti and wine, bread and cigarettes. Inspired by the compassionate stand of La Pira, help poured in from every part of Italy and from the Vatican.

"How can the state leave to private enterprise problems of such dimensions?" asked La Pira in an anguished letter to Rome.

The Left called him a "White Communist"; but even the Left had a hard time finding fault with the way La Pira was handling the strike. The most bitter complaint was that he was using Red tactics. The Right called him a demagogue. The work-

IS EUROPEAN SOCIALISM DEAD?

ERIC SEVAREID

THIS REPORTER suggests, after returning from abroad, that the socialist movement of the last fifty years may be coming to its end in Europe. The obvious eagerness of conservative governments to end the cold war is taking away the so-called "peace" issue from the socialist parties; still more fundamental is the remarkable European prosperity. Even inefficient societies like Italy—even Poland from some reports—seem to be solving the problems of producing sufficient material goods, so that passionate argument over political approaches to bringing about the workers' welfare suddenly seems rather pointless to many people.

If this material process and intellectual mood is deep-rooted, as it appears to be, then surely a whole new political process is under way, and old convictions, old words and attitudes, have to be shed.

THERE IS a crisis in the British Labour Party. From London, the American columnist Stewart Alsop asks the simple question, "Is socialism necessary?" This, indeed, is the question. It can hardly be said that socialism in Europe or liberal New Dealism in America has failed. There, as here, immense economic reforms created by both political movements firmly remain as part of the law of the land, part of the way of life, fully accepted and administered by the present conservative régimes.

Political history has moved in succeeding cycles of crusade and reform, followed by a conservative, holding period, then on again when the need is great again. One cycle, therefore, cannot be termed "normal" any more than the other. But suppose, as some men do, that western war really is impossible and cannot occur in the foreseeable future. Suppose the modern secrets of material production really are now solved for these western societies. What then happens to the familiar cyclical political movement?

This prospect does not throw its impact upon European socialists and conservatives with equal weight and effect. For in a large sense, conservative parties do not require a philosophy to hold them together. They like power for its own sake and seek social impovement as part of the power process, and they seek it with practical, pragmatic methods, unilluminated—or perhaps, unencumbered—with a doctrinal great design. They can easily adjust, even to socialist reforms.

But the socialists, as in Britain, cannot do this. If their social aims can be realized by other means, then their philosophy, their very life blood becomes only a nostalgic echo of a buried past. That is why the socialists, in some parts of Europe at least, are now lost in the woods and see, as yet, no way out.

WHEN the big war ended, the socialists thought their own age had really begun; their dream of a universally socialist Europe seemed about to come true. This summer, the international socialist convention in London was a sparse and listless affair, creating less stir in the press than a chamber of commerce gathering.

They will find a place, no doubt, for their imaginative energies, their passion for social justice, as will those New Dealers of the doctrinal type here at home. But for some time to come, very likely, the field of endeavor will be less and less the whole national design, more and more the smaller fields of civil liberties, of local, urban and personal problems, including the very opposite of their beginning point—the problem of leisure.

(From a broadcast over CBS Radio)

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ers regarded him as a saint. Finally, after three months of bitter negotiations, the old Pignone firm was dissolved. A new organization was formed with governmental participation, and the workers returned to their machines.

'You Be Mayor . . .'

When Don Luigi Sturzo, founder of the Christian Democratic Party, pounded at him for trifling with Marxism, La Pira lashed back in an open letter in the *Giornale d'Italia:* "Rev. Don Sturzo: It should be your lot to experience what the mayor of a city of 400,000 inhabitants has to endure, a city with 10,000 unemployed (not to mention the factories that are threatening to lay off more workers), 2,000 who have been evicted from their homes, and 37,000 on relief. How does a mayor reply to these unfortunates when they ask for a place to live and work? Does he say, 'I am sorry, I do not believe in government intervention; I am sorry, I cannot possibly violate the divine laws of private enterprise'? What would they answer? That this man is a Christian? A mayor? They would say he is a hypocrite, a pharisee.

"This is not Marxism, dear Don Sturzo. It is easy, and convenient besides, to hurl accusations of Marxism at those who try to get off their horses to heal their wounded brothers. Come, come, you be mayor. . . ."

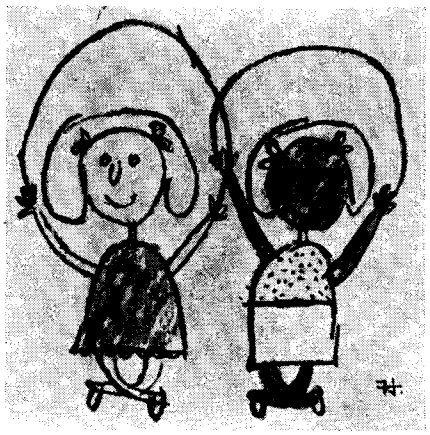
THE DEFIANT La Pira's latest exploit, the most explosive so far, is expropriating the Delle Cure foundry and turning it over to the workers. This time the national police routed the sit-down strikers and returned the foundry to its owners. La Pira retaliated with city police, who returned the plant to the workers. And now he is seizing private country houses from absentee owners for his poor.

What happens now? Where will it end? Will La Pira suffer the fate of a Savonarola—not by torture and death—but cast out by practical politicians, perhaps even of his own party? Or will this bright, somewhat incongruous spiritual light finally consume itself in a monk's cell? More than once La Pira has told how greatly he longs for a life of meditation and prayer.

Segregation, Housing, And the Horne Case

CHARLES ABRAMS

WHEN Frank S. Horne, a government expert on racial relations, was fired last July, Federal Housing Administrator Albert M. Cole blamed it all on "budgetary considerations." But Cole has not concealed the fact that the orders to fire Horne and his assistant, another Negro named Corienne R. Morrow, came from the Republican National Committee. This admission and the strange facts surrounding the dismissal suggest that it may be the culminating step in the Republican Party's effort to



scuttle the Racial Relations Service and many of the gains it has made in its long fight against racial discrimination in American neighborhoods.

Horne's ideas have been a target of the real-estate lobby ever since 1938, when he was hired by Nathan Straus to help set up the Racial Relations Service for the Federal public-housing program. The great Negro migration of the 1920's had produced a nation-wide campaign to segregate minorities in American neighborhoods. Dozens of real-estate textbooks and professional magazines were urging the compulsory exclusion of minorities. The descendants of English, Germans, Scots, Irish, and Scandinavians were rated the best neighbors; northern Italians, Czechs, Poles, Lithuanians, and Greeks were somewhat questionable; and Russian Jews, southern Italians, Negroes, and Mexicans were considered undesirable. Hundreds of civic associations were organized to keep "intruders" out. Racial covenants against Negroes and frequently against Jews and aliens honeycombed whole neighborhoods and often whole cities. The powerful National Association of Real Estate Boards bound its membership to the cause through a "code of ethics," and local realty groups importuned the nation to keep its better neighborhoods "100% pure" white. Not only had the courts of fifteen states ruled restrictive covenants to be legal and agreed to enforce them by sheriff's writ, but even the Supreme Court had given the covenant its implicit blessing in 1926.

'Adverse Influences'

When the Roosevelt Administration took office and set up its various housing agencies in an effort to prime an economic recovery, two schools of thought emerged. The Federal Housing Administration and Home Loan Bank System were staffed largely by experts from the private real-estate field who favored the racial-exclusion theory. They succeeded in having the Federal government adopt the discriminatory policies of the real-estate market and implement them with Federal mortgage insurance, aid, and prestige. Official government manuals from 1935 to about 1949 warned against "adverse influences" such as smoke, odor, fog, and "inharmonious racial or nationality groups." "Appeal," according to the FHA, is measured by "social class." It warned against "lower class occupancy" or "a lower level of society" and went so far as to recommend the use of restrictive covenants and setting up barriers such as high-speed traffic arteries to keep the "lower levels" in their places. This was giving Federal

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sanction to race discrimination, but it seemed to many the accepted and the "practical" way of dealing with the housing problem, and neither political party made an issue of it.

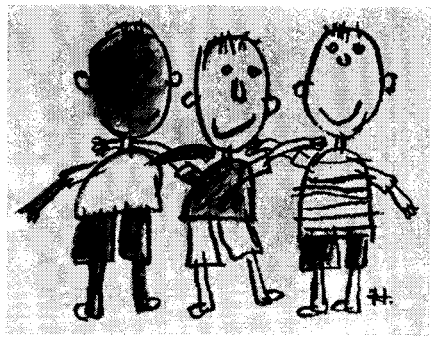
But the Racial Relations Service under Frank S. Horne strove to introduce a more enlightened attitude into the public-housing program. Horne assembled and trained a staff of experts to help local housing authorities with their racial problems. Before long, thirty-three thousand Negroes were living in projects with white neighbors next door or across the hall.

With the consolidation of the housing agencies after the Second World War, the Racial Relations Service became part of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. At first it could make little headway against powerful forces both inside and outside the government that favored discrimination in housing. But by the end of the war public opinion had changed materially. Governmentally sponsored discrimination seemed incongruous in face of the United Nations Charter, the Nazi trials, the Act of Chapultepec, and other postwar pronouncements on what we had hoped we had won in the war. President Truman's Commission on Higher Education demanded the repeal of segregation laws, and the President's Committee on Civil Rights not only condemned segregation in housing but urged the elimination of all segregation "based on race, color, creed, or national origin, from American life."

In the hopeful postwar atmosphere there were many gains. An investigation into segregation in the capital was followed by the government's intervening on the side of Negroes in a legal fight against restrictive covenants. The Supreme Court forbade the enforcement of such covenants, and FHA officials grudgingly agreed not to insure mortgages on covenanted property.

The Supreme Court's unanimous condemnation of school segregation in 1954 after President Eisenhower had taken office seemed to invite a bipartisan agreement that racial discrimination was to be rooted out of American life entirely. The climate of the decade authorized it, and American moral leadership in the world impelled it. On October 25, 1952, in fact, it had appeared that candidate Eisenhower would rise to the challenge when he told an audience in Harlem: "Wherever the Federal Government has responsibility, wherever it collects taxes from you to spend money, whether it be in a contract for recreational facilities or anything else that it does for a citizen of the United States, there will be no discrimination as long as I can help it in private or public life based upon such things as color or creed or religion—never." A similar pronouncement was made by Housing Administrator Cole on October 12, 1953: "I see no sense in maintaining color cartels in the business of housing.... Insofar as Federal housing operations are concerned . . . discrimination because of race is contrary to public policy and . . . equal treatment of all citizens must be the settled policy of the government." A year later he confirmed that minority families "must rapidly be brought into the free market."

DURING this period it seemed certain that Horne and his Racial Relations Service would have considerable and increasing influence on



the government housing program. But in 1953, at the same time Cole was promising to end housing discrimination, he suddenly replaced Horne with a Negro real-estate operator named Joseph R. Ray, who was not known as a firebrand. When a storm of protest blew up in which Cole was accused of yielding to patronage pressures and undermining the Racial Relations Service, Cole made Horne his special assistant to develop "new approaches" and reiterated his stand against discrimination.

But the men who molded Republican strategy were beginning to see the racial issue in a different light. They had watered down the civil-rights plank of the 1952 platform for what seemed to them solid political reasons. President Truman's strong position on civil rights had made the South open territory for Republicanism. For decades, moreover, there has been a marked tendency for traditionally Republican Negroes to leave the rural South and show up in the urban North as Democratic voters. And although the Negro influx has increased Democratic strength in the overcrowded sections of Northern cities, that increase is being offset by new Republican strength in the all-white suburbs, on the borders of which Negroes are pressing for living space. In some areas—Dearborn, Michigan, for example—mayors have won elections by fighting Negro "intrusion" openly. Devious zoning ordinances and other devices for exclusion reflect the new suburban sentiment. Finally, building and real-estate interests, working through the Housing Agency and the President's advisory committee on housing, have insisted that Horne's ideas would hamper the building boom.

The Supreme Court's decision in 1955 implementing its prior holding against school segregation was all very well, but the politicians decided to play it down, convinced, with 1956 approaching, that the time had come to go slow.

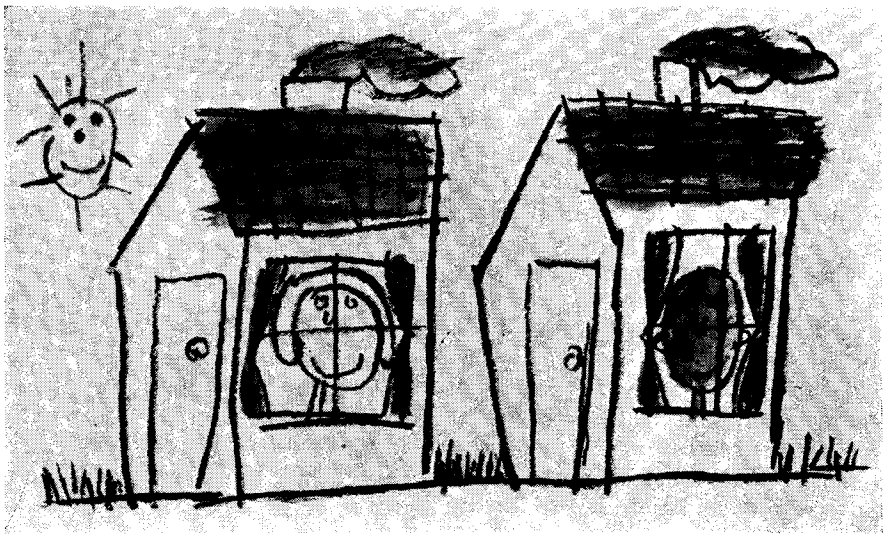
Going Slow

On June 8, 1955, President Eisenhower condemned the use of anti-discrimination riders appended to National Guard, housing, and other appropriation measures as "clouding" the issue.

As if to support his chief's new line, Cole told a House committee on July 14 that the government shouldn't "move too precipitously" in eliminating racial segregation from the Federal housing programs. Legislative proposals to make FHA non-discriminatory were necessarily "vague and uncertain," he said, because local conditions vary.

¶ In expressly barring segregation in schools, the Supreme Court has, by implication at least, banned it in all other publicly supported operations, but it has become quite clear that the government has no more

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



intention of supporting the Court's decision by administrative action than it wants the legislature to reinforce it by legislative action. A week after Cole enunciated the new policy he fired Horne and Mrs. Morrow.

Horne's demotion in 1953 could be ascribed to nothing more sinister than patronage considerations, but his discharge on July 22 of this year can only be considered part of a plan to scuttle the Racial Relations Service and all that it stood for. The job was undertaken about a year ago and has been carried out with methodical precision:

¶ Ten official positions in the Service that had been assigned to FHA were removed from civil-service classification to make political appointments possible. The post of Racial Relations Officer for the important Northeastern area, vacated a year ago, has remained unfilled.

¶ Only three of the six officials assigned to the Administrator's staff remain. One was stripped of his duties, and the other two, Dr. Horne and Mrs. Morrow, were fired.

¶ Four of the five officials assigned to race-relations and relocation duties in the urban renewal program have been told to forget the race-relations part of their jobs. The fifth was taken off the Director's staff and the Board of Review. New appointments to vacant posts have been postponed indefinitely.

¶ Flimsy charges of disloyalty have been leveled at three key staff members. The charges were thrown out after hearings, but the members were suspended from work for months.

¶ A. Maceo Smith, formerly national president of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity and a board member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was asked to resign his job as FHA Racial Relations Adviser in Fort Worth, Texas, after his picture appeared in a Negro magazine as the winner of a commercial award. Lending his prestige to such purposes was called conduct unbecoming a Federal official. The charge was dropped, but a few weeks ago he was told to resign his directorship of the state N.A.A.C.P. or quit.

In sum, the function of the Racial Relations Service since Horne's separation from it has degenerated into that of official apologist for official acceptance of segregation.

As IF TO underline the connection between Horne's dismissal, the devastation of the Racial Relations Service, and the new policy on race relations, most of the gains that had been made during the years "Horne and his ideas" had some influence in the formulation of public policy have been erased in the last few months:

¶ On February 7, 1955, the requirement that local housing authorities show that public-housing projects will make "equitable provision for eligible families of all races" and that tenants will be selected according to urgency of their need was shorn of its enforcement provisions. The housing needs of nonwhites, of course, are much more urgent than those of whites.

¶ On March 8, 1955, a requirement that protected minority groups against the diminution of the overall housing supply in a community through demolition operations was deleted from the Public Housing Administration's Manual.

¶ On April 11, 1955, the requirement that "substantially the same quality, service, facilities and conveniences with respect to all standards and criteria . . ." be provided to all races was also removed.

¶ The urban renewal program, originally designed to increase the housing supply as well as to eliminate slums, has been steadily perverted into a device for getting rid of minorities. Capitalizing on the value of the phrase "slum clearance," the Administration has approved hardly any projects on vacant land that would increase the housing supply. Most of the approved projects call for the clearance of Negro settlements and those of Puerto Ricans and other minorities. Though capital subsidies are given to private builders, almost none of the new accommodations are available to the displaced minorities. A proposal by the Racial Relations advisers to limit demolition operations to areas where the evicted families could find adequate shelter within their means was rejected.

¶ The public-housing program, which had provided additional accommodations for the overcrowded racial minorities and other low-income families by building on vacant land as well as on slum sites, has been curtailed and turned into a convenient tool for the private redevelopers. The redevelopers, who were required by law to relocate the displaced families, now count on the public-housing program to accept their evictees. Since only an insignificant fraction of those displaced can be accommodated by the small public-housing program, the practice has in fact produced a wholesale dislocation of nonwhites. The Administration's answer to the "great migration" has been a great eviction.

¶ On August 8, 1955, the requirement that local housing authorities guarantee no discrimination in the execution of contracts for utilities, services, and supplies was eliminated.

¶ The promise that mortgage money from Federal sources would be made available to racial minorities under the much-vaunted Volun-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tary Mortgage Program has turned out to be a dead letter. At one point Cole called a meeting of the undercapitalized Negro insurance companies and other Negro financial institutions and exhorted them to take care of "their people."

A Choice to be Made

In an attempt to quiet the protest that followed his dismissal of Horne, Cole offered him a specially created job as adviser on international housing, thereby admitting that "budgetary considerations" had nothing to do with it. (The 1956 appropriation for Cole's agency, incidentally, is nearly twice that of 1955.) Horne turned the offer down and has taken his case before the Civil Service Commission. Whatever the result may be, though, Horne is obviously through. And so is the Racial Relations Service.

And yet perhaps Horne's dismissal has done at least some good in dispelling complacency about the Supreme Court's school decisions. The segregation that has been banned in schools may in fact now be achieved by blasting minorities out of their homes in the name of slum clearance and segregating them under the protection of public policy. In fact this process has already begun.

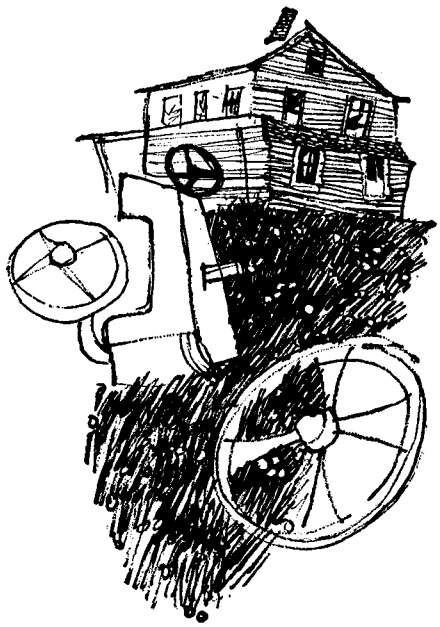
Horne's dismissal will also have served a useful purpose if it dramatizes the need for a Racial Relations Service that cannot be scuttled at the will of some politicians or debased into a convenient screen for publicly sanctioned bigotry in housing. To be effective, the Service must be independent. It must be staffed with professional experts, not professional politicians. It must be assured of continuity, be permitted to work unhampered in the field, have official co-operation, and be voted adequate funds.

There should be similar supervision over every Federal department that dispenses Federal moneys. For as the credit and power of the Federal government permeate ever widening areas of the national economy, a choice must be made between subordinating the government's higher public ethic to that of the market place and raising the ethic of the market place to that of the Constitution.

Why Public Power Is Here to Stay

ALBERT LEPAWSKY

In 1921, upon the Republican "return to normalcy" after the First World War, Henry Ford made an unsuccessful bid to take over Muscle Shoals, the government's uncompleted power and nitrate installations on the Tennessee River. This power site, which was to become a major link in TVA's chain of dams during the 1930's, had been earmarked early in the electrical age as a primary preserve for public power. Development of Muscle Shoals had become a widely accepted policy as early as 1903, when Theodore Roosevelt vetoed the first Congressional bill at-



tempting to assign this valuable site to the private utilities.

The similarities between the Muscle Shoals incident and the Dixon-Yates affair are revealing. Like the Second World War atomic-energy program that evoked the Dixon-Yates proposal, the Muscle Shoals munitions-and-hydroelectric program had been a major defense project of the First World War period. After both wars, there was a concerted move to transfer control of public resources to private enterprise.

In the Congressional debates on Muscle Shoals, the leading Senatorial filibusterer was Senator George Norris (R., Nebraska), who was later to join the Democrats in launching TVA. Norris's counterpart of the 1950's is Senator Wayne Morse (R.-Ind.-D., Oregon).

Promise and Performance

At the Presidential level, the parallels between the two periods are more striking. Herbert Hoover assured Tennesseans in 1928: "There is no question of government ownership about Muscle Shoals as the government already owns both the power and nitrate plants," adding somewhat ambiguously that the power "should be disposed of on such terms and conditions as will safeguard and protect all interests." Similarly, in a Memphis campaign speech in 1952, Eisenhower said: "Certainly there would be no disposition on my part to impair the effective working out of TVA."

Both Hoover and Eisenhower carried Tennessee, but they did not carry out their power commitments as most Tennesseans interpreted them. Two years after his election, Hoover vetoed the latest version of Norris's Muscle Shoals bill. Two years after Eisenhower was elected, he championed the Dixon-Yates project, having meanwhile come to the conclusion that TVA was "creeping socialism," a phrase, by the way, which had been used by Hoover in one of his speeches on the subject.

Both Hoover and Eisenhower professed to have the cold engineering approach to their respective problems. Before vetoing Norris's Muscle Shoals bill in 1930, Hoover had announced that since "this happens to be an engineering project," he was going to have a study made of "the cold engineering facts." Norris thereupon declared: "The great engineer is asking advice on an 'engineering project' from those

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who are not engineers, and when those who are not engineers tell the engineer what to do with an 'engineering project,' the engineer will know whether to sign or veto the bill."

For his part, Eisenhower, at the beginning of the Dixon-Yates controversy, appointed General Herbert Vogel of the Corps of Engineers to replace Gordon Clapp as TVA Chairman. The President declared that General Vogel was "competent in this field of hydroelectric engineering," and he instructed Vogel "to find the facts and advise the President and the Congress as to what he believed to be right." Meanwhile, Eisenhower directed the Atomic Energy Commission to negotiate the Dixon-Yates contract, thus prejudging a major part of the issue and yet at the same time insisting that his directive "was designed to allow time for a thorough examination of this whole vast field."

Public and Private Power

The development of electrical energy in the United States has been a story of public administration along with private management. The nation's electric-distributing business is now twenty per cent publicly owned, while the publicly owned generating capacity amounts to twenty-three per cent of the national total. The difference is accounted for by the fact that the excess of publicly generated electricity over publicly distributed electricity is sold mainly to the private utilities for resale to their own customers. As Thomas Martin, former president of the Alabama Power Company, once told me: "We have excellent relations with TVA. They sell power to us and we're glad to do business with them."

The public and private systems engage in reciprocal services and carry on various forms of technical collaboration day by day. For example, in the combined public-private power venture known as the Bonneville Power Administration's Power Pool, the private utilities of the Pacific Northwest are permitted to take out three times as much power as they contribute to the Regional Pool, and the energy system of the Northwest thereby profits greatly. Moreover, the extensive regulatory and service functions of the Federal Power Commission, the Rural Electrification Administration, and now the Atomic Energy Commission indicate how far government has gone in assuming a major role and—in the minds of a substantial segment of American businessmen—an essential role in the planning and financing of the nation's private power plant.

Most private utility executives, however, have found public administration in the electric-power field distasteful, and they have therefore never accurately evaluated the significance of the public sector of the power business. On the other hand, some of the more cautious utility executives, pleased with the over-all record of the private utilities but at the same time cognizant of the government's position in the power economy, have been aware of this miscalculation. Ruminating about an earlier spell of myopia suffered by the private utilities during the 1920's and 1930's, George Gadsby, former president of the Edison Electric Institute, recently admitted: "Our own record and shortcomings

made it possible for the Washington power crowd to incite public opinion against us."

The implication that public power is a plot of a Washington coterie bent on discrediting the private-power business represents another misreckoning. The private utility companies, in their refusal to recognize that public power is largely a phenomenon that predates the reputedly nationalizing New Deal period, misconceive—to their own detriment—the real character of the American power setup.

Localization

Not nationalization but rather localization has been the most persistent tendency of public power in the United States. Municipal power, which was the only kind of public power existing at the beginning of the century, amounted to about ten per cent of our total power capacity in 1900. Today, municipal power, together with its newly associated forms of district and state power, still accounts for ten per cent of our total capacity.

As early as 1906, it is true, the Federal government launched its first power project of "astounding audacity," in the words of a contemporary observer. This project was Roosevelt Dam—Theodore, not Franklin—near Phoenix, Arizona. Roosevelt Dam produced only 20,000 kilowatts, but even at this early date municipal power capacity in the United States had already reached a total of 250,000 kilowatts. Since our municipal power plants were then struggling to maintain themselves against the competition of private mergers, the Federal government—under Republican leadership, it should be recalled—enacted the first of our public-preference laws which to this day give priority to municipal and other public-power authorities in the purchase of Federally generated power.

When the New Deal came to power twenty-seven years later, ninety per cent of all public power was still municipally owned. As a result of the rise of Federal power during the Democratic Administration, power facilities owned by municipalities, districts, and states have dropped to forty per cent of the public-power total. Nevertheless, municipal power is still the steadiest segment of the public-power system. For this reason, the present Republican Administration's power policy of "local initiative, public or private," or "local partnership" runs the risk of merely fostering more municipalization. In

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the case of Memphis, this risk has already become a reality.

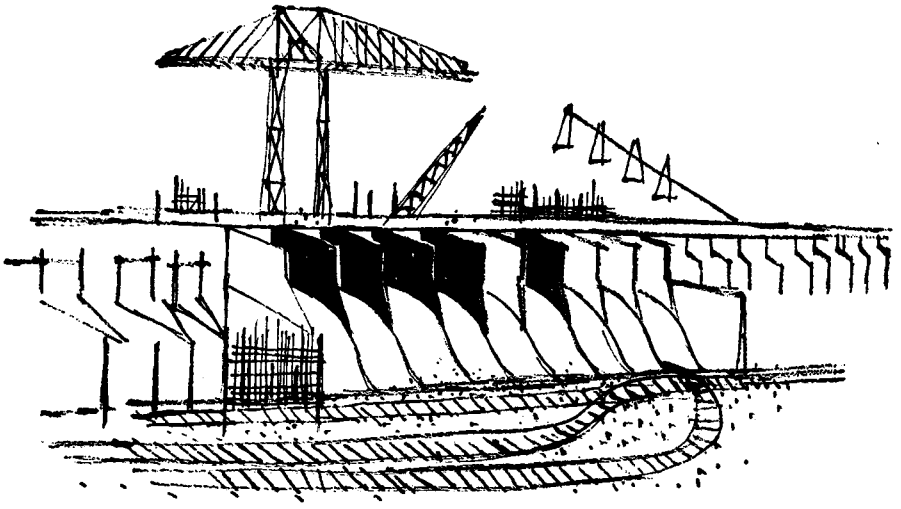
The Memphis Lesson

As a matter of fact, President Eisenhower does deserve credit for having told the press on March 16 that Memphis had "a complete right to manufacture or set up any producing plant it wants to," that "certainly I would favor it," and that he had "nothing at all against local ownership of power." However, in view of the President's constant sponsorship of the Dixon-Yates negotiations after they were opened six months earlier, it is a play on words for the White House to announce, as it did on July 11 when the President finally canceled the Dixon-Yates contract, that he had "favored construction by the City of Memphis from the beginning as an alternative to another steam-plant construction by TVA."

The fact is that the President's principal adviser, AEC Chairman Lewis Strauss, had pooh-poohed the possibility of the Memphis plant at the full-dress press conference he conducted in December, 1954, in defense of the Dixon-Yates contract. Highly successful in private finance, Strauss was Herbert Hoover's secretary during the First World War years, and Mr. Eisenhower praised him highly in October, 1954, for his leading role in launching the Dixon-Yates negotiations. The President also asserted at this time that there was not a more trustworthy man in government than Lewis Strauss, singling out "his integrity, his common sense, and his business acumen." The question of what kind of acumen it actually takes to manage—or manipulate—the power resources and the power policies of the country now appears to be a lot more complicated than the President had heretofore realized.

The Forgotten Struggles

It might therefore be well if in the future those of our political leaders who set out to pit big utility against big bureaucracy recognize that the historic foundation of the public side of American power is the genuinely locally owned power system, and recognize also that it is not enough merely to give lip service to "local power," shifting the meaning



of the term from public to private and back again as seems politic.

Our two thousand municpal systems, more recently joined by our sixty public-power districts, six state-owned systems, and one thousand rural electric co-operatives, now provide power for some twenty-five million Americans living in half the land area of the United States. These locally owned public-power systems are an outgrowth of the frequently forgotten power struggles of the 1890's, 1900's, and 1910's.

These were the decades of municipal reform, when our preachers and professors castigated the suspected conspiracy between corrupt politics and irresponsible corporations. Municipal ownership at this time was widely regarded as a symbol not merely of honest politics but, strange as it may seem today, of an efficient government and a sound economy as well. Morris Llewellyn Cooke, an engineer who was also secretary to the industrial genius Frederick W. Taylor, summarized the situation tersely in his famous Harvard Business School lectures in 1915: "The utility problem, through its bearing on crooked politics and bad government, has become almost the crux of the municipal situation, and as such, its solution is, in one sense, the key to national prosperity."

If the dramatic municipalization battles of sixty or seventy years ago have been forgotten in Decatur, Ypsilanti, Hannibal, Topeka, Little Rock, and Jacksonville, the later ones in Seattle, Los Angeles, Omaha, Memphis, Nashville, and Knoxville have left a fresher imprint and a more abiding sentiment in these public-power areas of the country. A recent leader of the Citizens for TVA, Inc., has been S. R. Finley of the Chattanooga Public Power Board. Finley's first names are—literally—States Rights, and he defers to no man in his devotion to state and local autonomy.

Outside the Tennessee and the Columbia Valleys, there are differing degrees of regional loyalty to public power. But sentiment even in New York has accommodated itself to public ownership, if not to outright public management, of St. Lawrence Valley power. This New York policy was first formulated nearly fifty years ago under Governor Charles Evans Hughes and more recently by Governor Thomas E. Dewey, both of whom were Presidential candidates of the Republican Party. Thus party politics cannot immunize our various regions, states, or localities against public power. Nebraska gave Eisenhower one of his biggest majorities, but the Nebraska Public Power System is the country's first state-wide power monopoly, and it stands out boldly as a symbol of public ownership in the yet-to-be-developed Missouri Valley.

Wall Street and Washington

In the course of all our debates over public and private power, the private utilities have not strengthened their position much by branding the regionally respected and internationally renowned TVA or the municipal-power undertakings of the United States as "nationalized" or "socialized" enterprises. Nor have

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they been able to win many adherents by arguing that, as compared with the 450 private power companies, the three thousand publicly owned power systems constitute a dangerous form of centralization.

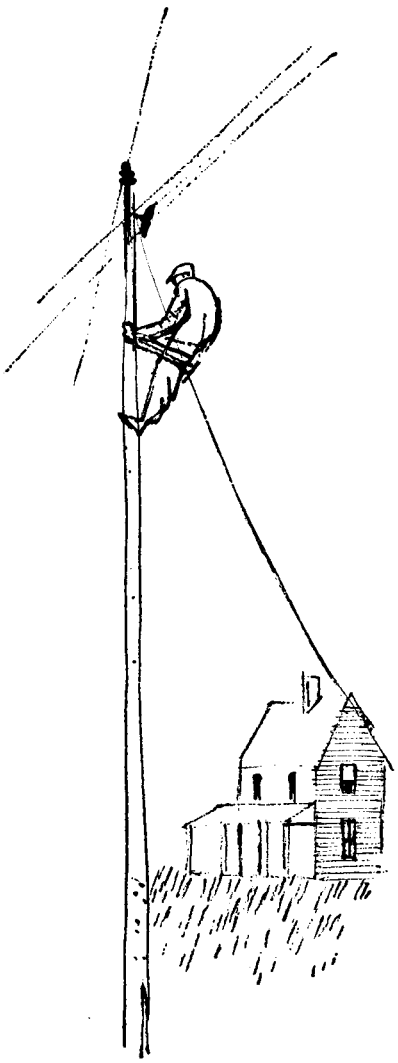
It is true that the policy trend in recent years has been to shift certain decisions in the power industry from Wall Street to Washington. But it is apparently becoming increasingly difficult to convince the American public that a dozen or so Washington bureaus, created to finance and foster a wide range of publicly owned power systems distributing twenty per cent of the nation's electricity, represent a greater menace to democracy and decentralization than do the private utilities and the fifteen New York holding companies controlling eighty per cent of the nation's power distribution.

Standards of Efficiency

We probably will have to live through more controversies like Muscle Shoals or Dixon-Yates, but in the course of these conflicts both our private and public systems will have to continue to face up to the essential tests of economic efficiency and engineering effectiveness. There are few fields in which the accounting devices for dressing up the balance sheet have been trickier than in the case of our electrical utilities. But we have learned the lesson over the last seventy-five years that no amount of smart propaganda by the private utilities and, for that matter, no amount of clever politics by public-power authorities can in the long run circumvent the basic American requirements of financial solvency and technical proficiency.

It is for these reasons that we can expect our past debates to continue over such specific questions as the fairness of laws giving preference to public power, the inadequacy of tax or "in lieu" payments by our public-power systems, the sufficiency of public power's capital or interest payments to the Treasury, and the allocation of construction costs to the power components of our multipurpose projects in order to amortize our public-power investment.

By the same token, however, we can also expect to witness a continuous reappraisal by the American public of the profits that are all but guaranteed to private utilities by our present system of government ratemaking and regulation, the liberal tax-amortization privileges we grant to private utilities under the defense program, the relatively riskless financial arrangements we sometimes offer to private contractors



like Dixon-Yates, and the gift we make to private companies by handing over to them a governmentally created atomic technology.

Technological Impact

The technological factor has always been decisive in affecting the balance between public and private power, and it may, especially during the atomic stage, continue to be so. Yet we should not suppose that the technological advantage has always been on the side of the private agencies and against public ones. On the contrary, public ownership has continued to be part of the power picture from the very beginning of electrical technology. When arc lighting was the most common use of electricity in the late 1870's, our street-lighting systems were sometimes municipally owned. After 1879, when Edison perfected the incandescent lamp, municipally owned systems appeared almost immediately, first for street lighting and then for general and commercial applications.

In fact, the number of municipal plants grew from one in 1881 to more than three thousand in 1923. But because they were legally restricted in the sale of electricity to their city boundaries, our municipal power plants were unable to keep up technologically with the giant steam generators and with the expanding transmission areas of our private systems.

These jurisdictional and technological deficiencies explain much of the "inefficiency" of the municipally owned systems in the early days—a popular criticism of public power that is strangely nonexistent today. They also explain why the private power companies were able during the early decades of the century to buy out the municipal systems by the score and why the municipal or public proportion of the nation's generating capacity dropped from ten per cent in 1902 to five per cent in 1922.

It required another notable technological development of this period to rescue the municipals from further attrition. This was the compact and highly efficient Diesel power plant, which again made it economical to generate electricity for the small city areas. During the decade 1922-1932, when Republican Administrations were supposed to be giving the inside track to private power, our publicly owned municipal systems trebled their capacity, running neck and neck with the private utilities in their rate of expansion. Thus it was not always politics but rather technology that determined the relative roles of public and private power.

Public power got its next big technological stimulus when the huge multipurpose hydroelectric dam appeared on the scene. Installa-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions like Hoover Dam, launched by the Republicans in the late 1920's, performed a multiplicity of public functions, not only power generation but also flood control and irrigation. This represented a combination of responsibilities beyond the scope of private utilities, unless they wanted to be driven frantic by the conflicting demands of competing water users. Consequently, the modern hydroelectric dam too may be said to have become publicly owned for technological reasons, not merely for political ones.

EXTENDING these technological trends into the atomic era, what can we say about the prospects for public and private power?

The 1954 Atomic Energy Act, it is true, did reflect the country's decision to shift a substantial part of our newer energy technology to private industry. But after the Administration made the naïve mistake of tacking the now defunct Dixon-Yates clauses onto the Atomic Energy Act, the Senatorial filibusterers of 1954 were able to inject into the Act various amendments safeguarding public power, all of which demonstrated how close the balance really was.

Thus, although the 1954 Act ended the government's atomic-energy monopoly, under it the public-power agencies have retained their priorities for the preferential purchase of whatever power the AEC may hereafter produce. More important is the fact that the Act permits municipal and other public systems to participate, along with the private utilities, in the commercial development of atomic electricity. Two of the largest public-power systems, TVA and Nebraska Public Power, have already been licensed by AEC for this purpose.

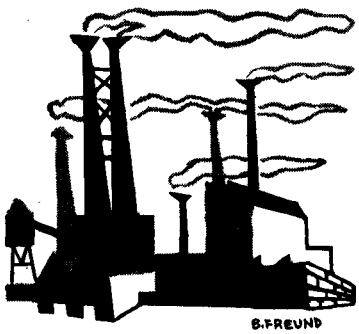
Atomic technology is presently in the construction stage of the large atomic reactor, which functions as a source for the commercialized production of electrical energy and which promises to give the private companies the same kind of immediate advantage they obtained when the large steam-electric plant arose. However, we are also now in the pilot-plant stage of the smaller "package reactor," which might make atomic electricity available for smaller and detached communities. This could have a favorable impact upon the municipal systems, as did the earlier Diesel plants.

Public Power's Future

Whatever may happen in the technological transition, there is every reason to expect that public power will continue to play its historic American role as private power's "partner" or "yardstick" or "birch rod," however we may interpret the situation. For there have apparently been inexorable forces at work that have made our evolving electrical technology and our ever-changing energy-resource base (from steam and Diesel to atomic energy) more receptive to public enterprise than has been the case in other utilities. Our original experiments with government ownership of canals, railroads, and telegraph lines were soon discarded as unfortunate forays into statism. Public ownership of power, on the other hand, has hung on tenaciously from the beginning.

Perhaps, as the technocrats used to say, the kilowatt-hour is one of our absolute and interchangeable standards of value and, like a universal currency, commands the public interest. Perhaps the rise of public power acknowledges the fundamental fact that "energy" has become the "material" of the greatest importance to the modern state. Or perhaps public power persists mainly because the highly transmissible and distributive character of electricity lends itself to decentralized operation.

Whatever the basic explanation may be, the substantial position long ago assumed by public power in the nation's energy network is unmistakable. Clearly, it will take a good deal more than contention about atomic energy, continuing controversy over TVA, or contracting like Dixon-Yates to dislodge public power.



NEW BOOKS FROM
VIKING

"A SUPERB RECORD OF A SUPERB MOMENT IN OUR HISTORY."
—ADLAI STEVENSON

. . . The exciting play-by-play account, by an active participant, of the crucial days when America once-and-for-all became a world power—the vital weeks that led up to the adoption of the Marshall Plan. This is a uniquely personal view of recent history, and of important men at work in a time of crisis: Truman, Marshall, Acheson, Vandenberg, Harriman, etc. This is journalism at its best in an absorbing and immensely revealing book. $3.75

The Fifteen Weeks
by JOSEPH M. JONES

THIS IS WHAT OUR LIVES MAY BE LIKE WITH MORE LEISURE TIME!

Taking a bold and imaginative leap into the future, a noted economist and writer explores the new world we are about to inhabit—a world made radically different by automation and other startling technological developments. In vivid detail, Mr. Soule speculates on the changes that will take place in our lifetime, in the fields of education, the fine arts, sports, homemaking, entertainment, etc. A fascinating and exciting book about the revolution we are now witnessing in America. $3.00

Time for Living
by GEORGE SOULE

THE VIKING PRESS
New York 17, N. Y.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Music by Montage And Mixing

ROGER MAREN

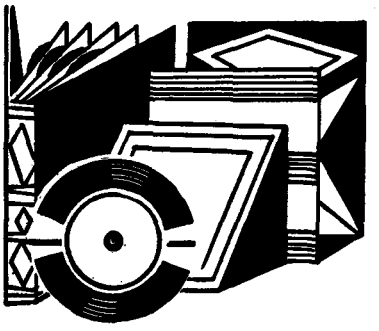
THE WORD "sound" is beginning to shimmer a bit these days. This word with its new connotation, partaking of both the mystical and scientific, is as meaningless and essentially snobbish as that foolishly imprecise term "good music." The only way to understand it is to hear enough examples. These you may find on the many hi-fi recordings whose envelopes employ the term frequently.

In the jazz field you will hear the results of echo chambers, multiple recording, odd microphone placement, filtering, and Lord knows what other gadgeteering. Enthusiasts do not listen to the music of their favorite progressive jazz ensemble; they "dig the exciting sound." It is beside the point if these sounds are not organized to make expressive form. If they were, the result would be music, and consequently somewhat old hat. That the "sound" enthusiast is little concerned about music is evidenced by his delight in the grunts, squeals, puffs, and shrieks offered by certain discs recorded at menagerie, factory, and airport.

"Sound" is a product of recording —especially tape recording. Take a sound which we have all heard millions of times—the ticking of a watch, for example. Record it on wide-range equipment and play it back. Sound will have become "sound." The creation of "sound," then, is partially a matter of context. It's like taking an old, rusted bottle cap with a jagged edge, attaching it to a pure white canvas in a gilt frame, and hanging it on a brightly lighted wall. The context says "Look!" In much the same fashion, the context of electronic and recording devices says "Listen!" This is exciting to many because, until the new context drew their attention, they had rarely really listened to any sounds other than those of traditional music. They had heard them, to be sure, but as signals, annoyances, and so on, not as aesthetic experiences.

Manipulating Tape

When one can relax in his armchair and hear the violaceous jay, the black howler, the rattlesnake,



the hippo, or fish many fathoms down in the sea, there is no question that the reaction will be somewhat different to that felt "on location." (These sounds can be heard in Folkways Albums FPX 120-125.) The unusual thing is that people are actually listening to these sounds for aesthetic experience, and they like it. A new domain has been opened to them. The important thing to remember about all this is that the listener is not being transported in imagination to, say, the American Southwest to hear the rattlesnake. If this could be done successfully, the listener would hear the sound as a warning and either reach for a club or run like hell. What happens is that he is being given the rattle without the snake or the danger. The novel aspect is that the sounds, taken completely out of context, become objects of regard in and for themselves. They need not be exotic. An uneventful run of the Pennsylvania Railroad somewhere near Trenton will do (Folkways Album FPX 130). They need only be recorded to become what the critics call "aesthetic objects."

But this interest in natural sounds becomes jading to the man who likes to manipulate his raw materials. Fortunately, the tape recorder saves his day. Sounds can be manipulated. One of the simplest devices is the slowing or speeding up of a sound. James Fassett's intermission talks on the Sunday New York Philharmonic radio programs have shown a nation-wide audience what can be done with bird calls not only slowed and accelerated but played backwards. This is elementary stuff, however, to the well-equipped and experienced tape handler. So much manipulation can be practiced on a recorded sound that it becomes almost as plastic as clay in the hands of a sculptor. This is possible because sound, when recorded, takes on spatial dimensions. That is, it can be reversed, can be cut in sections and respliced, and can be made to pass through a machine at varying rates of speed.

Inevitably, this plasticity attracted composers looking for new means of expression. A composer's job is basically the organization of sounds, and it is clear that sounds can be organized by manipulating tape. Why not, then, record each note of the piano, cut them all apart into little snippets of tape, and splice them into various tone patterns? The answer is that it would be easier to play the piano. But perhaps there is a completely novel music made possible by tape recording, a music that couldn't exist in a traditional medium.

Traditional Music

Traditional music can employ only the limited kind of sound that is produced by musical instruments. Except for the percussion section, these instruments produce sounds which, in spite of their complexity, are heard as having a single definite pitch. The various overtone complexes produced by different instru-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments give them their characteristic color but do not obscure the single definite pitch of any given tone. In other words, we hear the flute A and the violin A as the same pitch but with different color.

This already limited range of sound is further limited by the use of only certain prearranged pitches. Our notation shows this clearly. There is a place on the staff for C and a place for C-sharp. Between these two tones the voice can sing, and the ear can easily discern, several smaller intervals, but there is no place on the staff for their notation. This limitation doesn't bother the traditionalist; he has no use for such sounds anyway. Traditional music, then, exists in that small area of sounds with a single definite pitch. (A sound like the roar of a lion would not do.) And, even within this limited area, only *certain* pitches are used.

Now how is this small range of tones used? Again, a look at our notation will help with the answer. Notes, which are often thought to represent pitch and duration, really represent ratios between these dimensions. A half note lasts twice as long as a quarter note, but neither represents any particular length of time. This is why there can be so much argument about conductors' tempi. And, although notes have a conventionally fixed pitch, they really represent pitch ratio.

For example, because of a characteristic of clarinets which we needn't go into, a clarinetist reading the notes of "Yankee Doodle" would produce a different set of pitches from those played by a violinist reading the same score. And if one played more slowly and softly than the other, two different sets of intensities and durations would result. We would have no doubt that both were playing "Yankee Doodle," however, because the essence of the tune, fully expressed in the notes, is a *structure of ratios* expressed as between pitch levels and duration.

This is also true of more complex music. In the days when playing the piano was a popular home pastime, many out-of-tune parlor pianos were used for the performance of Beethoven or Haydn symphonies in transcription. In such performances, every dimension of the originally intended sound was changed—pitch, because the piano was out of tune; intensity, because it could never be as loud as an orchestra; and probably duration, because, as we have seen, notes don't represent specific lengths of time. Finally, the characteristic color of the orchestra would be absent. Still, the piece could be recognized as the particular symphony in question. Clearly the essence of its structure must be a set of pitch and time *ratios* for which sound functions only as the material in which to express them. The peculiar sensuous characteristics, having been entirely changed with no damage to the *structure*, seem to be irrelevant.

IT IS TRUE, of course, that the purely sensuous characteristics of a work—its sounds—are important to the total expression, but the expressive possibilities of note ratios are so great in themselves that many works have been conceived in no other terms. In fact, before 1600 composers hardly ever bothered to prescribe particular instruments whose sounds were to embody their structures. Imagine how different one of these early works would sound when played first on the calliope and then on the harp. "Entirely different!" one might exclaim, but we would still recognize the two performances as being the same piece of music. The essence of the structure is not in the sound.

This is not only true for obscure early works. Even as late as the

eighteenth century, as monumental a masterpiece as Bach's "Art of the Fugue" was written only in terms of notes. No instruments are stipulated. And, although since the seventeenth century particular sounds have taken an increasingly important part in the conception of works, note relations have been the sole structural elements in traditional western music to this day. Whether the music be by Mozart, Schönberg, or Irving Berlin, the structure of the music remains, regardless of the kind of sound embodying it. It is this fact that makes possible the transcription of a piece of music for a wide variety of different instruments.

Sound as a Servant

Nevertheless, we all know that composers of recent times have been quite concerned about sound. They have taken pains to have a certain melody played on the oboe rather than the fiddle, to have a certain chord scored for brass rather than strings, and so on. Now if it is true that the structure of traditional music has nothing to do with sound, why do these men go to the trouble? The answer is simple, I think. They want to present the structure in the clearest, most felicitous way. A melody that the composer feels to be tender might be given to the violin, which is capable of soft, soothing sounds. A dissonant chord will have more "bite" if given to the brass rather than the strings. The parts of a fugue will be more clearly heard if they are not all played by instruments of the same tone color.

But sound is always used (except in potboilers) as an adjunct to the subject. It is not used as an end in itself. Indeed, one common criterion of vulgarity in traditional music is the extent to which purely sensuous material is used for reasons other than the enriching of the structure. Thus when around the turn of the century the use of sensuous material became the prime concern of some composers, a dangerous point had been reached: The façade had begun to be heavier than the foundation. To avoid disaster, many composers turned to the better balance of the past.

More radical composers, however, began to touch on more interesting possibilities. Schönberg and Webern's "Klangfarbenmelodie" is an attempt to make a perceptible structure by the careful arrangement of tone colors. Olivier Messiaen has done similar things in piano music. By spacing his tones at very wide intervals, he made it impossible

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the listener to follow melodic patterns. Instead, certain sonorities which are given very specific lengths of time are arranged to form a pattern recognizable by the ear as having formal balance. Although the composers just mentioned have used traditional sound media, John Cage has done the same sort of experimentation with new sounds—muted piano strings, electronic instruments, and percussion ensembles.

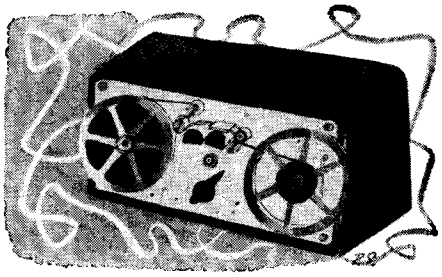
This is a logical outcome, for the basic requirement of traditional music—single outstanding pitch—is no longer necessary if one is to abandon pitch ratios as the sole structural element. Most important of all in this direction, however, are the works of Edgard Varèse, because they show that color, intensity, and pitch can all be used structurally to form music almost completely devoid of traditional reminiscence, yet powerful music of great beauty (EMS Record Number 401).

The success of Varèse's work is a tribute to an amazing technique that has conquered the formidable obstacle of present performance possibilities. Most of his compositions, if they were to be heard at all, had to be written in notes for men and instruments expressly developed for performing traditional forms. This is obviously a useless and painful limitation for a composer whose music is tending beyond notes. In fact, with these limitations music could never be realized beyond notes even if it were so conceived.

Concerto for Brick and Hammer

New means are necessary, and fortunately the tape recorder offers them. There was little doubt that Varèse would turn to this medium, and the first really important piece to use it is his "Deserts," part of which is written for standard instruments and part of which is constructed on magnetic tape using sounds impossible to instruments.

Varèse was not the first to use the tape recorder for music, however. In this country, John Cage has used it, and so have Otto Luening and Vladimir Ussachevsky. But the first people to explore the medium seriously, and the first people to develop a technique, were the workers at Radiodiffusion Française in Paris who call themselves Le Groupe de Recherches de Musique Concrète. A good deal has appeared recently in newspapers and magazines about their work and about the work of the founder of the group, Pierre Schaeffer, but almost



nothing has appeared to give the public an idea of precisely how this music is made.

THE COMPOSER'S first act is to record sounds that he wishes to use. They may be anything from a trumpet note to the sound of a brick being smashed by a hammer, but whatever they may be, they must have elements of the type the composer wishes to manipulate. These elements constitute the form and quality of the sound. For example, the attack—the beginning—of a sound may be percussive or pinched. It may be "aeolian," like the beginning of a sound produced by a bow drawn lightly over a string. The main body of the sound may have a constant loudness, or its loudness may increase, decrease, or fluctuate. The body may also consist of several strands of sound like the voices of a polyphony. The extinction or trailing off of the sound may be abrupt or gradual. Any of these elements may have one or several fundamental pitches. Their tone color may be brilliant, clear, dull, or vibrant. And these few characteristics barely begin the list of possibilities.

After choosing and recording his raw materials, the composer sets about manipulating them in order to form the special sounds he has in mind for his composition. Three types of manipulation are basic:

¶ *Transmutation* consists in manipulating the material without aiming at a change in form. For example, the recorded sound of the word "dig," when played at twice the speed of recording, will have a higher pitch, a shorter duration, and a different tone color from the original. But the formal relation of attack, body, and extinction will remain unchanged.

¶ *Transformation* consists of manipulating the form rather than the material. For example, one may find the whereabouts of the attack on the tape and snip it off. One can cut the recorded sound in two, reverse the parts, and re-form them. The possibilities are so great that, with different splittings and re-formings of a sound of considerable length, one can make a set of variations without ever changing its tone color, pitch, or duration. With this technique one can create symmetrical sounds—that is, sounds whose form is identical when heard in the original or reversed; or homogeneous sounds with no attack or extinction. They may go on forever with no change. Having no elements to distinguish beginning, middle, or end, homogeneous sounds comprise only characteristics with no formal outline. With them, new sound forms can be developed by the fabrication of attack and extinction that can be spliced to either end of the sound. This, as well as other forms of transformation, can easily be performed with scissors and Scotch Tape.

¶ *Modulation,* the third basic manipulation, consists of varying selectively the characteristics of a sound without being concerned with transmutation or transformation. The pitch may be changed; the color or dynamic characteristics may be altered. For this type of manipulation, special electronic equipment is required. Thus the extent to which one can toy with a sound in this way is determined by the ingenuity of electronic engineers, but one can hardly call that a severe limitation nowadays.

One-Man Band

After his manipulations, the composer is in possession of a repertoire of sounds constructed and molded by himself. These, not the original noises that served as raw material, are the sounds that will make his composition. He must now make a detailed schema representing the order of sounds, the rhythm, the polyphony, and so on. The schema will then be carried out in two main processes: montage, the cutting and splicing of recorded fragments; and

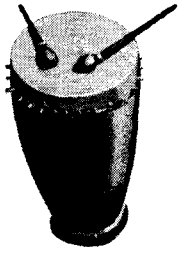
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mixing, the superposition of recorded sounds which are then re-recorded on a single tape. Montage determines the form and rhythms of the piece; mixing determines the "harmony" and counterpoint.

At the same time, the composer must consider the "spatialization" of the work when it is produced in a hall. Two types and their combination are possible. Static spatialization is the term for the emission of sounds from localized sources—say three loudspeakers, one at left, one at right, one at front center. Cinematic spatialization is the term for the emission of sound in such a way that it describes trajectories in space. With these effects, a polyphony or even a single line of sound may appear to come now from one place and now from another, or from a moving source. Finally, after innumerable snippings and gluings, recording and re-recording, and more snipping and gluing, the work is completed and needs no more performers than a playback machine with spatialization apparatus plus someone to control it.

THE RADICAL DIFFERENCE from traditional music is obvious. We needn't put too much importance in the difference arising from the fact that the traditionalist uses limited material while the tape musician may use any sounds he likes. Great as this difference may be, the most fundamental difference is in the mode of composition. The traditional composer begins with a mental conception based on abstract structure. After representing his conception in notes, his work is finished. It has no concrete reality until the performers embody the structure in sound.

The tape musician, on the other hand, begins with concrete sonorous material and works with it directly to form a structure. Furthermore, with spatialization the tape musician has a new form at his disposal. Imagine a piece of music whose formal structure is based on the position and movement of tones in space. The composer, become choreographer, would have at his disposal the most ethereal of dancers—sound.



Three Trends

After any discussion of tape music, certain questions invariably arise: Who is doing this work? What is it like? Is it any good? Isn't it inhuman and mechanical? Isn't it hard to comprehend? Where can I hear it?

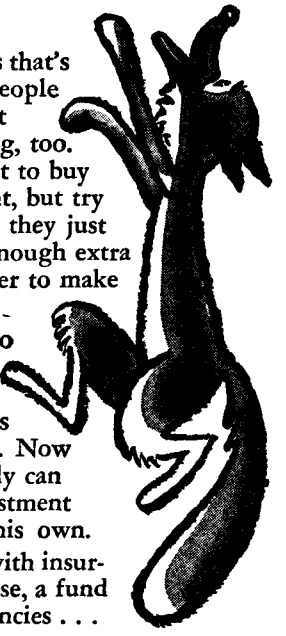
Although the field is still very new, three main tendencies have made themselves evident. The first tendency is characterized by constructions of sounds that have not been manipulated to a degree sufficient to destroy the strong referential significance attached to certain noises. Pierre Schaeffer, litterateur and engineer, founder and guiding light of Musique Concrète in Paris, has worked in this genre. In one of his pieces, for example, there is a movement that is nothing but a collage of laughter. One cannot regard this as "pure" music because the anecdotal significance of the sound is too strong. In another piece he makes use of traditional music (accordion, harmonica, gamelan) and three words spoken by Sacha Guitry. The effect is much closer to cubist poetry than to music. This does not necessarily nullify the value of the work. It simply places the work outside the domain of pure music.

The second tendency is characterized by the use of sounds manipulated to the point where they lose all referential significance. The composer's interest is in the sound itself and the patterns into which it can be formed. In Paris, both Olivier Messiaen and his pupil Pierre Boulez have made essays in this direction. John Cage and Edgard Varèse in this country also prefer to work along these lines. There is little point in attempting to describe this music, since its sound differs from piece to piece. Only two generalizations can be made: The music has a completely new sound—unlike that of even the most advanced traditional works; and the composers take advantage of the tremendous possibilities offered by tape in the construction of diffi-

ÆSOP
CIRCA 500 BC

The Fox *and the* Grapes

Nearly everybody knows this one—the story of the half-starved fox who kept jumping in vain for the grapes, finally gave up in disgust, and stole away snarling that they were all sour anyway.



Over the years that's how a lot of people must have felt about investing, too. They did want to buy stocks all right, but try as they might they just couldn't get enough extra money together to make a start.

Now, thanks to the Monthly Investment Plan, all that's been changed. Now nearly anybody can begin an investment program of his own.

Anybody with insurance, a house, a fund for emergencies . . .

Anybody who can set aside even 50 cents extra each day . . .

Anybody who joins the Monthly Investment Plan for as little as $40 every three months.

Just how does the plan work? Which stocks can you buy? What's the commission? We will be happy to mail you complete details if you simply fill out the coupon below.

Without charge or obligation, please send me your descriptive booklet, a membership blank, and the special report on "Twenty Stocks for Long-Term Investment" in your Monthly Investment Plan.

Name _____

Address _____

City & State _____ R-37

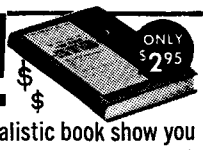
MERRILL LYNCH, PIERCE, FENNER & BEANE

70 Pine Street, New York 5, N. Y.

Offices in 107 Cities

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Make More! $ $ $ Lose Less. $ $



Let this hard-boiled, realistic book show you
HOW TO MAKE STOCK MARKET PROFITS
"THE BATTLE FOR INVESTMENT SURVIVAL"
by **G. M. LOEB** — Wall Street authority;
partner, E. F. Hutton & Co.

● Here's the best book ever written on how to invest successfully in the Stock Market — not an in-the-clouds rehash of economic theories but a hard-hitting, practical guide to investing with a *different* approach. Financial experts, newspapers, big and little investors all acclaim it: "the most effective published work in its field;" "tops them all." Thousands have gained from it. You can, too.

The key to real profits

One new idea from this highly successful (10th printing) book can return its purchase price to you 100 times — or more! By following G. M. Loeb's sound advice, you'll have the know-how to invest more wisely, more profitably. Once you've seen it, you'll agree with the Wall Street Journal —"this book is a 'must'."

Money-back guarantee

Send $2.95 (check or money order) with your name and address today. Use book for 10 days; if not delighted, return for full refund.

HURRY HOUSE PUBLISHERS, Dept. R
61 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.

A special issue on—

EDUCATION:

Now and to Come

featuring

HAROLD TAYLOR *on* Experimental Education

STRINGFELLOW BARR *on* Liberal Education: A Common Adventure

ALGO D. HENDERSON *on* More than the 3 R's

CHARLES FRANKEL *on* Scholar's Freedom

John Dewey and the Belief in Communication

An Englishman Looks at American Education

plus other articles, stories, poetry, and reviews

single copy 75¢ *$3 per year*

THE ANTIOCH REVIEW
Yellow Springs, Ohio

NO MORE PAYING FOR BOOKS YOU PAID TO HAVE PRODUCED

Send for free folder describing a low cost publishing program in which all copies belong to the author, plus 70% royalty on all copies we sell for you.

WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS
313 West 35th Street New York 1, N. Y.

Invest in United States Savings Bonds

cult and previously unplayable rhythmic patterns.

The third tendency is characterized by the composer's interest in the idea of working directly with sound on tape, but not with the idea of producing anything particularly radical. André Hodeir's jazz compositions fall into this category. They sound a bit like ordinary arranged jazz but much more precise and somewhat more complex. There are, naturally, a few unusual noises. The "Tapesichord" music of Luening and Ussachevsky would probably belong in this category too. It is much more "manipulated" than the Hodeir music, it extends the range of musical instruments much farther and is certainly more ambitious, but it is firmly bound to traditional conceptions—so much so, in fact, that the use of such devices as electronic feedback might, to some ears, sound out of place. Evidently, these two men are mainly concerned with extending the range of sound produced by standard instruments. (An LP of their work—"Tape Recorder Music" —is the only tape music currently available to the public.)

As is always the case, only a fine artist can produce fine art, no matter what the medium may be. It is for this reason that the Varèse and Messaien pieces have more than novelty while most of the other works do not. If some of the works produced in Paris sound infantile, this is no reflection on the medium. Tape awaits composers who can use it sensitively. There is no reason to assume a lack of humanity or sensitivity because the means are mechanical and electronic. If one considers the scrape of horsehair on gut, the opening and closing of valves, the complex lever movement, and all the plumbing that is necessarily in operation during the performance of a Beethoven piano concerto, there can be little argument about this.

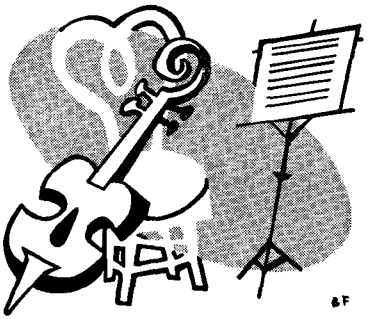
And there is no reason to assume that tape music need be too complex for the ordinarily cultivated musical ear. In fact, no matter how novel these pieces may be, they are pretty easy to comprehend—a good deal easier than many twelve-tone compositions that use standard materials. Tape music can expand the musical domain but need not add to its complexity. In this regard its relation to traditional music is much like that of abstract painting to traditional painting.

Harmonious Coexistence

Tape music is not necessarily an improvement on traditional music; it is simply something else. It gives the composer a chance to work directly with sound and to present his work without a middleman. One of the prime functions of traditional music is to provide material for people to perform, and if only for this reason tape music can never replace it. But the two can coexist.

Tape music can be performed in concert halls or on the radio as "pure" music, or it can serve as accompaniment to film, radio, TV, and stage productions. Radio in Europe has already exploited it quite successfully and has avoided the embarrassment felt by concert-hall audiences when faced with nothing but electronic equipment. Such embarrassment, though probably only the result of a startling break from habit, may not disappear for some time. Performances would have to become more general, and the production of compositions as well as their distribution is still limited. One of the obvious reasons for this is the high cost of recording equipment.

But once it becomes possible to create more of this music, there may be less of a problem about audiences than there is with the usual avant-garde music. No hall is required; no performers are needed. Direct distribution to the home by means of phonograph records would be ideal. The only requirement is that there be people who want to listen, and record buyers have already shown considerable interest in "new sound." Tape music should appeal to the more cultivated among them because the "sound" is there, not as an end, but as a means to a new and fascinating music.



PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHANNELS: Blimey! Wot's 'E 'Awking?

MARYA MANNES

LONDON

FOR THE first time in the thirteen years that Londoners have had television, they are now able to switch to another channel than the BBC and expose themselves to commercials.

The BBC's new rival for public favor, the Independent Television Authority (ITA), is a government body that owns commercial lines and transmitters, which it rents to two program contractors. These are Associated Rediffusion (Monday through Friday programs) and Associated Broadcasting Company (for weekends).

Thus the fortunate owners of multi-channel TV receivers who live within transmission range of ITA programs—London only, for the first six months—can, of a Sunday, exercise the ineffable privilege of turning on Liberace instead of Dame Myra Hess, or setting their children before Noddy the puppet at 4:45 instead of monopolizing the set themselves for the dry battle of wits in "Brains Trust."

At five the children themselves can (if they may) choose between Roy Rogers on film and BBC's "The Prince and the Pauper." At eight the same evening the British public is faced with a truly agonizing choice between an hour of beloved music-hall potpourri at the London Palladium and a full play put on by distinguished BBC actors.

Those who chose the Palladium can still see actors like Eric Portman and Margaret Leighton in "Theatre Royal," a filmed series. And the BBC faithful can switch from their hour of serious drama to "I Love Lucy."

The 'Nanny Basis'

At 10:45 the struggle for channels is over. The Postmaster-General has decreed a maximum of fifty hours a week for each channel, a weekday which begins at 10:45 A.M., and a dead hour between six and seven during which the children can eat their supper without a tempting distraction. On Sunday there is no TV before 2 P.M.

When I asked ITA's director general, Sir Robert Fraser, on what basis these time restrictions were imposed, he replied, "a Nanny [nursemaid] basis." There is much of the governess in government here. What is more, these restrictions, which we would regard as fantastic and intolerable, were the price paid for the establishment of this new Authority after three years of violent government bickering and a widespread fear that commercial television might bring to Britain the unutterable horrors of American TV.

To the British way of thinking, these horrors were largely our system of sponsored programs and a quantitative dosage of TV so overwhelming that it interfered with the proper conduct of human life and debilitated and corrupted the nation. This is where Nanny stepped in and limited the hours of viewing, at the same time prohibiting entirely any program sponsorship by advertisers. What the British are now seeing between their sponsored programs—and only, mind you, in "natural breaks"—are spot commercials bearing no relation to the entertainment they precede or follow.

The Oh-So-Gentle Sell

So anxious, indeed, are the advertisers to avoid all risk of irritation or offense that their commercials are designed primarily to promote good will rather than an immediate sale. They are often charming in execution (particularly, as in our case, the animations), and humorous and fresh in content. They begin without explanation and end without emphasis; indeed, their unobtrusiveness makes even identification of the product rather difficult, certainly for an American. I suspect, actually, that we may be able to learn from

you too can become a member of the Bogen hi-fi set!

More and more music lovers are centering their home entertainment around custom high fidelity components. They know that no "one-piece" radio-phono unit can reproduce sound with the lifelike "presence" of separate, custom instruments by Bogen.

You don't have to be a radio engineer to operate and enjoy Bogen custom hi-fi. You simply plug your handsome Bogen components together, slip them into bookshelves and they're ready to play. Magnificent Bogen phono systems start as low as $169, with FM-AM radio tuner for as little as $50 additional.

Send for 56 page book

Start planning your Bogen system today. Send the coupon and 25¢ for a 56 page illustrated booklet, "Understanding High Fidelity". Explains how to plan your installation. "For the audiophile first seeking his way . . . a surprising introductory work." *Saturday Review.*

Bogen
High Fidelity
Because It Sounds Better

DAVID BOGEN CO., INC. Dept. DJ
29 Ninth Ave., New York 14, N. Y.

Please send "Understanding High Fidelity" (for which I enclose 25¢) plus free catalog.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

☐ *Send only free catalog.*

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them what we are beginning to feel ourselves: that hard selling on TV can be a repellent and an intrusion, and that abrasion may rub down to the raw of resentment.

The British have a golden opportunity, for if they can sell enough by these gentle methods to pay for their television, they will have won another round in their continuing battle for the privacy and dignity of the individual. Our selling has often invaded the first and degraded the second.

It is ironic that the new Independent Television Authority has not made itself more independent of our influence in other ways. The percentage of American material on its programs is unwarrantably high. I can see why the British might succumb to "Dragnet" and "Inner Sanctum," but can't the new channel produce anything fresher and better than Roy Rogers and Hopalong Cassidy and Mickey Rooney for the young, not to mention Liberace for the older? Must economy force it to follow our dreary lead in putting so much material on film, or letting Hollywood do it? ITA feels, of course, that film is inevitable for speed as well as economy in production, and that its new High Definition process is a great advance. (The "Theatre Royal" series, now on American TV, was made in H.D.)

The Unshocking BBC

Yet it is live TV that gives television life, and the BBC knows it. Live TV is one of its weapons in a competition to win the British public that will be constant and fierce. Valuable as the BBC's contribution has been all these years, especially in the fields of documentary, drama, and music, this new challenge is the best thing that could have happened to its monopoly. It has been a dignified aunt too long. It must now be companion and friend as well, ready to pick up its skirts and romp. There is an overpowering gentility about many BBC programs, a lack of the shocks and punches that revive the mind and stimulate the blood. (To be sure, *1984* did both, but that was a year ago, and my British friends assure me that they have not been shocked since.)

The BBC has in its favor its long years of experience and a devoted audience. It has some of the best brains and talent in England. It has unshakable standards that generally have proved consonant with its function and its audience.

The BBC will continue to give its viewers what it has reason to believe they want: the best in documentary writing, serious live drama, great personalities. Judging from the interview of the new High Commissioner to India, Malcolm MacDonald, on "Press Conference," the BBC has nothing to fear from the ITA version of "Meet the Press," particularly if the latter maintains the slightly roiled quality of the American original. The British do not like unpleasant questions. I doubt, further, whether ITA will do as well for children as the BBC does.

But the BBC will have to look seriously and imaginatively at its light entertainment and its audience-participation shows if it is to keep its public from switching to the more flexible features of the new Authority. Taken as a whole, the BBC is just not funny enough, gay enough,

or impudent enough. The price of maturity, perhaps?

A Happy Medium?

From what I have seen of the BBC and heard about ITA, I have the feeling that British and American TV as a whole are slowly but surely approaching the same point from opposite extremes.

Starting with hardly any restrictions at all on type and amount of programming and selling, we are gradually beginning to impose certain limitations on ourselves. We are demanding, and getting, longer time segments without interruption. We are demanding, and getting, a much higher type of drama; cutting down on silly situation comedies, cutting down on horror programs and brutality in general, raising the standards of children's programs, getting more documentary programs and more distinguished minds and personalities. We are demanding more art and humor in our commercials and less aggressiveness in our salesmen. Above all, ultimate program responsibility is becoming more and more vested in the networks instead of the advertising agencies. A television day is being planned more editorially, as in a magazine, and less and less as an agglomeration of unrelated house organs. We are beginning to think of a proper balance of diet for the viewer, instead of stuffing him all day indiscriminately with whatever happens to be in the icebox.

Now the British, I think, are slowly and steadily moving away from these restrictions. It is the general feeling here, certainly in ITA quarters, that Nanny will ultimately be given her notice. The demand for television is so great that the viewer will not be content for long with dead hours between 12:30 P.M. and three (sometimes five) and between six and seven. There might even be a goodly proportion of souls, not given to churchgoing, who would wish some sort of solace on Sunday before two o'clock. And it is almost a certainty that in the course of time an advertiser will not want to pay as much as $2,800 a minute for being tacked onto a program that nobody wants to see.

In five years' time, allowing always for the differences in our national characters, British television may not be very unlike our own. It depends, really, on how well we learn to discipline ourselves sensibly, and on how sensible they are in relaxing their disciplines.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'Duty! Germany! The War! . . .'

AL NEWMAN

A GERMAN OFFICER, by Serge Groussard. *Putnam. $3.*

When a Frenchman writes about the Germans at war he usually discards pen for bludgeon. There may be a valid reason for this in the history of the past eighty-five years, but the bludgeon is a clumsy tool at best.

M. Groussard's excellent short novel is different. He introduces us to Lieutenant-Colonel Karl Brücken in the fall of 1945, after it is all over. The Colonel creeps about the craters-of-the-moon environs of Cologne dragging a foot crippled in his last battle, rummaging in garbage pails with his remaining arm and hand for scraps to sustain the merest flicker of life. In his middle forties but already old, the Colonel has lost everything—his livelihood, his family behind the Russian lines in Dresden, his health, his war, his Germany. The only things left him are unsullied honor and the stiff pride of a professional officer.

I defy anyone reading the first two chapters not to develop the liveliest sympathy for Groussard's pathetic Colonel. And obligingly enough, the author ameliorates his hero's lot, though with agonizing slowness. The surviving members of Brücken's family are reunited. His wife gets a job as a scrubwoman. The Colonel becomes a doorman for a night club. Step by step, things grow better.

Death for Desertion

As they do, the Colonel is called upon from time to time to explain certain of his wartime decisions and actions. It seems that every time fortune begins to smile, unseen hands are trying to drag Brücken down. This arouses the reader's sympathies even further. Fortunately, like Field Marshal Kesselring and a host of other German officers, the Colonel always is able to explain away the accusations brought against him.

First it is the Denazification Tribunal. Colonel Brücken was never a Nazi ("I have never been concerned with politics"), nor was he really a member of the SS; as a regular Wehrmacht officer, he was attached only temporarily to that fanatical formation. During his unit's last stand against the Russians on May 6-7, 1945, did he have six members of the Volkssturm hanged? Yes, they were caught trying to desert. And, he points out, "Desertion in face of the enemy is punished by death in every army in the world."

The Colonel's speech in his own defense is a masterpiece. "... I am about to be judged by a political panel for military acts.... Under any régime, a soldier has to obey orders. ... Easily available culprits are all too rare. So you turn your attention to honest fighting-men. You have to strike while waiting for the day when every soldier with an honorable war record will once again become a glory to Germany...." Brücken gets a light sentence as "an accessory."

A Girl Named Wila

And then there are the Poles. They have demanded his extradition as a war criminal, and an intelligence team of the British occupying forces questions him about his hanging of twenty-three partisans. Three of his men on a wood-gathering detail had been machine-gunned in the back, the Colonel explains. One of his battalions surrounded a body of guerrillas in the same forest, killed most of them in a fire fight, and strung up the survivors to birch trees. It was all highly legal. He had constituted his officers on the spot into a court-martial. "... not a single International Convention protects civilian snipers."

There is another accusation: "In the afternoon of the 9th of December, 1944, you had at least one woman hanged on the birch trees by the main road of Tielsk." That would be Wila Kasprowicz, the Colonel's Polish mistress. While the surviving

LINGUAPHONE
MAKES IT EASY TO
LISTEN and LEARN to
Speak

SPA... GERMA... ...ANESE
MODERN GREEK—any of 34 languages available for

10 DAY FREE TRIAL

With LINGUAPHONE—The World's Standard Conversational Method—You Start to SPEAK another language TOMORROW—or *IT COSTS YOU NOTHING!*

For just 20 Minutes a Day you listen to Linguaphone's Life-like Recordings. It is easy—AND FUN—to learn another language AT HOME with LINGUAPHONE—the same natural way you learned to speak before you went to school.

Only LINGUAPHONE brings the world's best native language teachers into your home. You hear both men and women speak about everyday matters in their native tongue. YOU understand—You SPEAK correctly as they do. It's like living in another country.

That's why Linguaphone is used 'round the world by educators, governments and business firms. More than a million home-study students of all ages.

10 DAY FREE TRIAL
Send today for Free booklet that tells about Linguaphone and how you may obtain a COMPLETE Course-unit in the language you choose on 10 day FREE TRIAL.

LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE
T-P-105 Phone: Circle 7-0830
Radio City, New York 20, N. Y.
Please send me your FREE Book about Linguaphone plus details of 10 DAY FREE TRIAL OFFER. No obligation, of course.
Language interest.....
Name.....
Address.....
City..... Zone.... State.....
Leaders for Over Half a Century in Up-To-Date Modern Language Courses

persistent
hoarseness
or cough

...is one of the seven commonest danger signals that *may* mean cancer...but should *always* mean a visit to your doctor.

The other six danger signals are —Any sore that does not heal ...A lump or thickening in the breast or elsewhere...Unusual bleeding or discharge...Any change in a wart or mole... Persistent indigestion or difficulty in swallowing...Any change in normal bowel habits.

For other facts about cancer that may some day save your life, phone the American Cancer Society office nearest you, or write to "Cancer"—in care of your local Post Office.

American Cancer Society

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

Looking for a publisher? Learn how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of others. All subjects considered. New writers welcomed. Author satisfaction has made Vantage the nation's seventh largest publisher. Write today for booklet R. It's free.

Vantage Press, Inc., 120 W. 31 St., N. Y.
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28
In Wash., D. C.: 1010 Vermont Ave., N.W.

MAKE MONEY WRITING
. . short paragraphs!

You don't have to be a trained author to make money writing. Hundreds now making money every day on short paragraphs. I tell you what to write, where and how to sell; and supply big list of editors who buy from beginners. Lots of small checks in a hurry bring cash that adds up quickly. No tedious study. Write to sell, right away. Send for free facts. **BENSON BARRETT, 1751 Morse Ave., Dept. 87-K, Chicago 26, Ill.**

BOOK PUBLICATION
is a complex process involving many skills, imagination, understanding. If you have a manuscript—on any subject—write to us or send it directly. There is no obligation on your part, and you will have prompt attention by co-operative publishers who know their business.

THE AMERICAN PRESS
Atten: Mr. Butler, 489 Fifth Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

AUTHORS: TALENT GOING TO WASTE?
If you are the talented author of an unpublished manuscript, let us help you gain the recognition you deserve. We will publish your book—we will edit, design, print, promote, advertise and **sell** it! Low subsidies, good royalties.

Write for free booklet, Dept. RE105
COMET PRESS BOOKS, 11 W. 42 ST., N. Y. 36

YOU CAN PUBLISH YOUR BOOK
Almost 2000 authors—most of them new—have had their books published, promoted and distributed through our unique plan. No matter what type of book you've written—fiction, poetry, biography, religious—we can help you. Send for our free illustrated brochure, "We Can Publish Your Book".

EXPOSITION PRESS | Dept. R-58
386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, NEW YORK
IN CALIFORNIA: 9172 SUNSET BLVD., HOLLYWOOD 46

Your Book Published
As one of the largest leading publishers in the U. S., we can publish, promote, and distribute your book. Our plan insures prompt publication. Manuscript reports in one week. No obligation.

Send for Brochure RE
Pageant Press, 130 W. 42nd St., N. Y.

GOOD USED BOOKS
50¢ - $1 Thousands of librarians and bargain-wise book-buyers get their books from us at regularly fantastic savings. You can too! Lists are free; just drop us a card.
EDITIONS, Dept. P.O., Hempstead, N. Y.

LET ME FIND THE BOOK YOU WANT
madeleine swarte
book scout
free search service
literary specialist research
122 South 3rd Ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y.

partisans were receiving the customary pre-hanging torture from Brücken's SS men (a mere detail he does not mention to his interrogators), Wila had begged him to spare the life of one of them, her brother. On his refusal she had spat in his face, and he had ordered her strung up along with the rest. ". . . Brücken finished stating the essential facts, adding a discreet lie: '. . . and they found a Mauser under this woman's mattress.' A superfluous accusation: in front of his men and under the eyes of the Polish civilians . . . this woman had spat in the face of a German officer. A war crime."

But through his remaining years the Colonel was to remember ". . . the little blue tongue of Wila Kasprowicz and her long silky hair: that ash-blonde hair which was the only living thing that remained of her at the end of the twisted cord that swayed in the wind. Duty. Germany! The war."

The Needle

Here we perceive how useful it is to discard the bludgeon for a hypodermic needle—a needle so sharp that the reader does not even feel it enter. Numbed, perhaps, by the novelist's injection of sympathy, he has gone along with the hanging of the wretched civilian Volkssturmers who had tried to escape a hopeless last-stand fight, and perhaps the reader has even vaguely approved the military legality of the execution of the partisans—Poles defending their own soil against a cruel aggressor. But this, says author Groussard in his almost inaudible fashion, is the real Germany at war: Brücken, a brave, proud, honorable professional, committing these grotesquely barbarous acts and feeling justified about every one. Here is the real horror, though the novelist refrains from saying so aloud.

BEFORE Groussard takes leave of his hero, Brücken, acquitted of all charges, has joined the staff of Defense Minister Theodor Blank's shiny new "democratic" army. He is chauffeured from establishment to establishment on his inspection tours in a silver Mercédès-Benz. Needless to say, the Colonel is a stern disciplinarian. "During his latest barrack inspection at Bonn, he had put two officers under close arrest; one for being lax enough to wear a colored shirt, the other because his collar was doubtful. And he had had a notice put up reminding the soldiers that under no pretext must they go out in uniform without gloves."

The Actress And the Writer

GOUVERNEUR PAULDING

HERITAGE, by Anthony West. *Random House. $3.75.*

One of the most difficult things in fiction is for a novelist to say that one of his characters is a great writer and get anyone to believe it. In *Heritage,* Anthony West has a famous English author and, compounding his peril, a famous actress as well. Both are believable: the actress coming onstage as Cleopatra in "that most gloriously contrived entrance—one of the greatest gifts of the race of playwrights to the race of actresses . . ."; the author recalling his youth and dismissing all unprofessional nonsense about inspiration—"I don't really know what makes a man write. I began for the odd guinea. . . ." But Max Town and Naomi Savage are more than just believable; their authenticity is never for a moment open to question.

They are brought to full stature as human beings through the eyes of the child born to them out of wedlock. But perhaps it is better to put it the other way round: The narrator, Richard Savage, seems real to us because Mr. West has invented parents real enough and fascinating

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enough to warrant a narrator who will be real enough too as he tells about them.

The Inquiring Child

Richard Savage was left to find out his father's name the way some children are left to find out about sex. He stumbled upon it at boarding school when a friend's father, taking the two boys to lunch, blurted it out: "I'm sorry, Savage, it just slipped out. You're so like your father it's funny. . . ." The famous father who had shown no interest in the nursery stage of Richard's existence soon came down to see the schoolboy. He came down in a racing car driven by his German mistress; he wore a black caracul hat he had brought back from Moscow and "a long coat reaching almost to the ground with a hint of the Cossack about its waistline and its flared skirt." The Grafin was adorned with a leopard-skin coat and a man's polo-necked sweater. A shock for a British schoolboy. But the drive they took was wonderful. Max immediately began talking about "the beginnings of history in England, about farming, about the civil wars between King and Parliament, and about the early days of flying." At that first meeting with Richard he began to show the incomparable fascination of his alert and encyclopedic mind. The struggle was on between Naomi and Max for the child's allegiance.

That is the story young Savage has to tell. He never whines in telling it. He is not the self-pitying sort. Perhaps his great ability to observe, his deep need to understand, comes to him from his parents.

After separating they had rearranged their lives; they were compelled to rearrange them in the changing patterns of their creative imaginations. The actress had left the theater to play the role of the lady of a great country house as the wife of Colonel Arthur; the writer, after fifty novels, was reluctantly playing the role of grand old man of English letters but breaking out of it at all occasions to warn the world about Hitler and the atom bomb, which he had already predicted. They were living as they always had in the dreams they created for themselves and for the public. But Richard was a fact that could not be put into a dream. They had forgotten each other or rather each had created a separate and very different story of their relationship.

In Naomi's version, Max, selfish and faithless, had seduced a young girl at the moment of her suffragette belief in the "new woman's" freedom from Victorian convention. In Town's memory, Naomi had looked very lovely as she stood in the rain outside his house begging him to take her in. And now each told Richard about the other as he shuttled back and forth between his father's place at Cannes, his father's London house, and his mother's great estate in Wiltshire, observing his father alternately artful and helpless in his relationship with women, his mother playing the role of devoted wife and exquisite snob in the quiet English countryside.

The Bathless

Max Town knew about snobbishness. He had found out all about it when he came up from the country as a young man with no money and a hopeless accent. He owed his educa-

To those living in a trance

ONE MAY be hypnotised in more ways than one. A newspaper can exert a hypnotic spell which can gradually lull the mind into a trance. When this is likely to happen, it is time to turn to the thought-provoking Weekly Air Edition of the Manchester Guardian.

Long famous for its world-wide influence, the Manchester Guardian is *stimulating*. Its brilliant articles and courageous editorials will enliven you. Its writing – Alistair Cooke's regular and distinguished dispatches about the U.S., for instance – will delight you.

Dare you be awakened to the keen, fresh air of reason? Do you want to enjoy *good* writing? If so, you'll join the thousands of Americans who read the Manchester Guardian every week! Read the paragraph below. It is really a disguised and very generous coupon offer.

For a sixteen-week trial, just write your name and address clearly on or near this ad, clip it neatly, and mail with your check for $2.00 to the Manchester Guardian, 53 East 51st Street, New York 22, N.Y. Or send $7.00 for a full year; or we'll bill you. If after four weeks you decide the Guardian is not for you, we will (but regretfully!) return your money.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion to the kindness of humble folk and he never forgot the poverty and misery he came from. Once as a farm boy a farmer had slashed him across the back with a whip for not doffing his cap to his betters. He had taught school and then, for that "odd guinea," he had found his way into journalism. He remained, despite his amazing prevision, a nineteenth-century believer in progress. It is unfashionable to believe in progress now, and we forget some of the thoroughly convincing reasons a man of Max Town's generation—who had known the world before the turn of the century—had for believing in it. As usual, they were very simple, down-to-earth reasons: "People smelt then"—when Max was a boy—"in a way they don't now. Nice people had baths, but the poor just didn't. They washed their faces and hands and they went to bed in their underclothes. I don't know when pyjamas, cheap pyjamas, came in but they didn't exist when I was a boy. Not for my sort anyway. On a holiday night like this the streets were filled with a crowd that stank of stale sweat. . . . You don't realize what a liberation cheap shoes have meant. . . ." Max Town had reason to believe in the future—and hardheaded realism to see that Hitler and the rest were intent on spoiling it.

Naomi did not play fair with Richard, but her husband, Colonel Arthur, did. He made him heir to Marshwood; he gave him his complete trust and friendship. Incidentally he gave the narrator the opportunity to paint the lovely English countryside—as his father gave him occasion to describe the French Riviera and London—simply and movingly.

Beyond Hate

Richard was away from Oxford with some archaeologists when the telegram came from Colonel Arthur. Naomi had abandoned the Colonel, and was divorcing him, to open in a play in New York. "She's an actress . . . ," Richard told the Colonel. "She doesn't exist anywhere else." And then in the room of the great house he was about to leave to go to the war, Richard summed it all up to himself. He passed beyond the hate he had felt for his mother, beyond the excitement and admiration he felt for his father. He reached the freedom of the grown man. He understood. His mother "was one of the leads round whom the plays of life turned. The curtain had come down on the Marshwood comedy and we, the supers, had to look for other parts. . . . I would be able to choose my own. . . ."

This absorbing novel has a quotation on the title page: "These are long vendettas,/A peculiar people neither forgivers nor forgetters . . ." It is curiously inapposite, for if the narrator does not forget, he most certainly forgives.

Book Notes

START FROM SOMEWHERE ELSE: AN EXPOSITION OF WIT AND HUMOR POLITE AND PERILOUS, by Oliver St. John Gogarty. *Doubleday. $2.95.*

"Where does the eighteenth century still linger without the squalor and the horror of the period? . . . In Dublin, of course . . ." And it is true enough, as St. John Gogarty remarks, that "the Orangemen who built the town after the Battle of the Boyne had the art, even if it was their only art, of building a beautiful city and making its ways wide." It is true also that no Irishman can ever write a sentence about Dublin or his country without putting a dig into it about somebody or other. In this slight volume Mr. Gogarty is often funny, often superficial and malicious, as when he calls T. S. Eliot "the greatest English poet who ever came out of St. Louis," but ever constant in his attendance at the altar of Irish wit.

NOT THE GLORY, by Pierre Boule. *Vanguard. $3.50.*

Another short novel by the witty French author of *The Bridge Over the River Kwai.* This one details the adventures of a top-notch German spy in the Second World War who worms his way into the confidence of government officials in London and comes to a sticky but surprising end. As in *The Bridge,* M. Boule pokes fun at the English (". . . the gentlemen were all red-faced, levelheaded, dull-minded, and dim-witted, while all the ladies, with very few exceptions, looked exactly like the gentlemen"), but as a wartime member of British Special Force in Calcutta, he has a profound respect for the efficiency of their intelligence services.

GERMINIE, by Edmond and Jules de Goncourt. Introduction by Martin Turnell. *Grove Press.* Hardbound: *$3.* Evergreen Edition: *$1.25.*

One always sees these two brothers almost smothered in their Paris apartment beneath a mountain of artistic bric-a-brac, meticulously showing one another a Japanese print, endlessly telling one another what so and so had said at a party, and then each day setting to work on their famous and complicated diary. They had the most precious—one would say finicky—good taste, and it is difficult to realize that they were outraged by precious and finicky good taste in the literature of their times. How they managed to find out all there was to know about Germinie, a servant girl destroyed by love, is hard to imagine.

CARTOON TREASURY: PEN AND PENCIL HUMOR OF THE WORLD. Edited by Lucy Black Johnson and Pyke Johnson, Jr. *Doubleday. $4.95.*

Copious and not overpriced, this excellent selection provides a pleasant occasion to argue once again about whether what is funny in one country is funny in another. Evidence for the One World theory is pretty strong. So, unfortunately, is the evidence that contemporary cartoons in general are ugly to look at—even the funniest of them. There is no Gavarni for style, no Caran d'Ache for charm, no Daumier for caricatures that still show the living form.

MANDARIN RED, by James Cameron. *Rinehart. $3.50.*

The author, chief correspondent of the London *News Chronicle,* traveled through China in 1954, and if the Communists let him in with the idea of impressing him with their system, they failed. But he did not fail the Chinese people, who must desire more than anything else to have the outer world reminded of their human presence. Our readers will remember Mr. Cameron's article "Are Religions the Opium of the People?" (May 19, 1955).

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What shapes your thinking?

CERTAIN primitives bind their skulls with strips of hide so that their heads grow "on a bias." When these wrappings are removed, the first flow of blood is extremely painful.

In our society, many bind not their heads, but their minds, and as a result of this tourniquet on their imagination, their thinking is biased and their opinions hidebound. To remove the wrappings and permit a flow of new ideas is painful here too, and these narrow-minded clans are careful to avoid it.

Scientists who have studied it say that head-binding isn't harmful—but all agree that "mind-binding" is. Mind-binding is fatal not only to truth, but to freedom as well. That's why you'll find THE REPORTER so often removing the wrappings from the news to uncover the facts and forces, the people and the pressures that affect you and your interests. That's why even when the truth hurts, THE REPORTER will seek it out for you.

THE REPORTER has made journalistic history with several of the stories it uncovered. For digging out and putting together the unpublished facts about wiretapping in America, THE REPORTER received the George Polk Special Award in Journalism — and THE REPORTER's outspoken study of the use of the lie detector in government was also acclaimed as a remarkable public service. Referring to THE REPORTER's famous series on the China Lobby, *The Washington Post* said, "They have done what a veritable legion of newspapermen and university researchers have, hitherto unsuccessfully, tried to do."

When you want the truth—clear and unbiased—you will find it in THE REPORTER. When you want to shape your thinking around solid facts and penetrating insights, you will find them in THE REPORTER too. So make sure you are accurately and fully informed at all times by reading THE REPORTER regularly.

Do you enjoy THE REPORTER? Don't you think your friends would enjoy it too? They'll appreciate THE REPORTER so much, and it will cost you so little to give when you avail yourself of our special introductory rate:

To New Subscribers Only
The next 18 issues
for just $2.67

If you haven't yet subscribed to THE REPORTER, you may take advantage of this special offer too. Your subscription—or your friends'—will begin as soon as we receive your order, so mail the card today. You need send no money; we will bill you later, if you prefer.

Regular rates: 1 year $5, 2 years, $8, 3 years $10
Add $1 per year for Foreign Postage

THE REPORTER

136 East 57th Street, New York 22, N. Y.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now yours to enjoy — in your own home — the greatest thrill of the entire world of music

The most sublime music ever composed!

Ludwig van Beethoven

BEETHOVEN'S SUPREME ACHIEVEMENT — THE IMMORTAL 9th SYMPHONY

Superbly performed in full symphonic high fidelity— plus a majestic chorus of glorious voices!

The mighty 9th Symphony

Towering high even among Beethoven's majestic accomplishments, the Ninth Symphony is literally the Mt. Everest of music. Its astounding length encompasses every emotion . . . the stark reality of the opening movement . . . the rollicking humor of the *scherzo* . . . the haunting melody of the *adagio* giving way finally to the glorious last movement, affirming Beethoven's passionate love of democracy and the brotherhood of man. So exalted is Beethoven's vision that the orchestra can no longer contain it: above the instruments we hear a chorus of human voices singing Schiller's *Ode to Joy*, concluding a magnificent tribute to the glory of Man unapproached by any other composer.

COMPLETE ON TWO LONG-PLAYING 33⅓ rpm HIGH-FIDELITY RECORDS

yours FREE

An Exciting New Way to Enjoy and Own the Best-Loved Symphonies, Concertos, Operas, Musical Comedies—AT AN UNUSUALLY LOW COST!

MAIL the coupon now and you will receive FREE —Beethoven's 9th Symphony complete on two pure vinyl, long-playing high-fidelity records.

Under this planned program called MUSIC TREASURES OF THE WORLD you can now enjoy in your own home a complete library of the world's great music . . . beautifully recorded on the latest high-fidelity electronic equipment, with the full range of sound the human ear is capable of hearing (30-15,000 cycles per second)! Because assured distribution to members eliminates the usual expense of unsold records—and because of the development of mass production high-fidelity record equipment—we are able to offer to our members 12" long-playing high-fidelity records, most containing at least two complete works — for only $2.98!

MUSIC TREASURES OF THE WORLD, Dept. 248 R-10
100 Sixth Ave., New York 13, N. Y.

YOURS—FREE
Beethoven: 9th Symphony

Please enroll me as a Trial Member and send me FREE, Beethoven's immortal 9th Symphony on two 10" long-playing, High Fidelity records, together with your current record selection. I am not obligated to take any specific number of records, and I am to receive an advance description of your future releases. Also I may reject any record before or after I receive it and I may cancel my membership whenever I wish.
For each of your regular 12" monthly selections I decide to purchase, I will send you only $2.98 plus a few cents tax and shipping.

Membership limited to one person over 21 in any household

Name.....
(please print)

Address.....

City.....Zone.....State.....

IN CANADA: 1184 Castlefield Ave., Toronto 10, Ont.

WHAT DOES THIS MUSIC PROGRAM INCLUDE?

All over the world — in Paris, Vienna, New York, Berlin, Milan — the engineers are recording and mastering the best-loved works of all the greatest composers, both serious and light. And these selections are all thrilling brand-new performances played by world-famous symphony orchestras under such eminent conductors as Walter Hendl, Herman Abendroth, Hans Swarowsky, Max Schoenherr, Kurt Graunke, Richard Kempe, Felix Prohaska, William Strickland, George Sebastian.

FREE — MUSIC APPPRECIATION COURSE

By accepting this offer now you will also be enrolled in our home study Music Appreciation Course — FREE. Each month you will receive, free, a new issue of our course. Prepared by Joseph Machlis, Assoc. Prof. of Music, Queens College of N.Y.C.—this course enables you to understand the fine points of music and listen to it as do the critics and composers themselves!

HOW THIS UNIQUE MUSIC PROGRAM WORKS

Your acceptance of the Beethoven 9th Symphony does not obligate you to buy additional Music Treasures records—ever! However, we will extend to you the courtesy of an Associate Membership . . . and each month, you will be offered a new 12" long-playing record at the special member's price of only $2.98 (plus a few cents for U.S. tax and shipping). If you do not wish to purchase any particular record, you merely return the form provided for that purpose.

This great work is too long to be recorded properly on one 12" Hi-Fi record, (more than an hour of listening pleasure). It has therefore been specially transcribed on TWO 10" records. The current selection which will accompany the gift records, and all future records, will be recorded on 12" discs — and sold exclusively to members for only $2.98 plus a few cents U.S. tax and shipping. This current selection is on approval; because we want to demonstrate the great value only members of Music Treasures enjoy. Mail the coupon NOW.

A Few of the More Than 100 Works You Will be Offered During the Coming Year

BEETHOVEN: "Emperor" Concerto
SCHUBERT: "Unfinished" Symphony
STRAUSS, Johann: Artist's Life; Blue Danube; Wine, Women and Song
SAINT-SAENS: Danse Macabre
BIZET: L'Arlesienne Suite
TCHAIKOVSKY: "Pathetique" Symph.
TCHAIKOVSKY: Nutcracker Suite
RAVEL: Bolero
MOZART: Symphony No. 40 in G Minor
HAYDN: "Surprise" Symphony No. 94
RIMSKY-KORSAKOV: Scheherazade
BACH: Brandenburg Concertos
SIBELIUS: Finlandia
BRAHMS: Hungarian Dances
GRIEG: Peer Gynt Suites No. 1 and 2
DEBUSSY: Afternoon of a Faun
STRAUSS, Richard: Tyl Eulenspiegel
MENDELSSOHN: A Midsummer Night's Dream
DVORAK: "New World" Symphony
SMETANA: Bartered Bride Overture
DEBUSSY: La Mer
GRIEG: Piano Concerto
CHOPIN: Les Sylphides
RACHMANINOFF: Piano Concerto
WAGNER: Overtures
PROKOFIEFF: Love For Three Oranges
RICHARD RODGERS: South Pacific, Oklahoma, etc.
JEROME KERN: Showboat
VICTOR HERBERT: Symphonic Suite
SCHUMANN: "Rhenish" Symphony

MUSIC TREASURES OF THE WORLD 100 Sixth Ave., New York 13, N.Y.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED